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**Uncovering the Links Between Brand Choice and Personal Values Among
Young Consumers in Spain and the UK**

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ABSTRACT

This PhD thesis presents an exploratory study examining how successfully the means-end chain model can be applied to 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls, and whether a clear association exists between their personal values and the snacks and clothing brands they choose.

This study draws on the subjective-interpretive epistemology, and takes a qualitative, depth interview approach. The author uses the laddering technique to build a mental map of benefits offered by different brands, and the personal values that these brands in some way satisfy

The author's study makes a methodological contribution to knowledge. Her findings reveal that the means-end chain model can be successfully applied to the 11-12 year old respondents, and that there is a clear association between their personal values and the snacks and clothing brands they select.

This study also makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge, revealing the types of personal values satisfied by snacks and clothing brands for these young consumers. All the personal values elicited are inner-directed or outer/other-directed.

A trusted brand name, while not always important, often generates reassurance, can increase self-esteem and lead to a deepened sense of belonging among the peer group. High levels of involvement can be demonstrated for both sets of respondents in both product categories; clothing, in particular, helps the girls define their identities.

The author's findings are relevant to both marketing managers and to public policy-makers interested in children's health and welfare: respondents feel tremendous

pressure to fit in with their peer group, fear social exclusion, and use snacks and clothing products to help them achieve a sense of belonging.

The author recommends additional research should be carried out with boys, with different age groups, with different nationalities and with different product categories to further enrich the body of knowledge relating to children's personal values.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This Ph.D. thesis presents an application of the means-end chain model to 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls. This model is used to explore the links between the brand choices these young girls make, and the personal values they are seeking to satisfy, in respect of two product categories: snacks and clothing.

Before I go on to present the structure and content of this thesis, I feel it is important to take a moment to present myself. Many writers have discussed the significance of acknowledging the researcher's personal standpoint and individual experience (Harding, 1987; Fletcher, 1999; James & Vinnicombe, 2002). As James and Vinnicombe say, *"When a researcher's standpoint is made explicit, it helps readers understand what particular story is being told and invites them to connect this story to other perspectives they hold."* (James & Vinnicombe, 2002:87). An understanding of my personal background and preferences will, I hope, give the reader an insight into how and why I arrived at this research topic, and will help explain my chosen philosophical and methodological approach.

I have always had a love of languages, of the sound and rhythms of words, and of communicating with people from different cultural backgrounds. I developed a love of Spain when I lived and worked there, and became fascinated by the contrasts between the Spanish and British lifestyles. Alongside this, I developed an interest in the international marketing processes that people in different nations are exposed to, as I worked first as an international brand manager, and later as a marketing consultant. I became aware that, increasingly, brand owners were developing strategies designed to create preferences for their products among children, from Mars Confectionery to General Motors. I was fascinated by the idea of exploring the role brands and products play for young people, given that the latter are striving to develop their own identities and a sense of which personal values are important to them.

My personal preferences lie very much in the area of those who are, *"keen to get out and talk to interviewees"* (James & Vinnicombe, 2002:93). Equally, my interest in gaining insight and understanding by listening to the language people use, means that I identify closely with those who, *"want to collect rich, ambiguous data with expressions of emotion and depth of experience"*, rather than, *"clear, orderly, factual data."* (James & Vinnicombe, 2002:93). These personal preferences have heavily influenced the philosophical and methodological approach that I have chosen. I feel most comfortable working within a subjective-interpretive epistemology, and have selected an in-depth, probing, qualitative research technique. My philosophical perspective and methodological approach will be discussed in detail in section seven. Having introduced myself, I will now step back from the limelight, and let my research take centre stage. From here on, I will refer to myself as 'the author' or 'the researcher', and will now return to the task of detailing the content and structure of this thesis.

After outlining the research context and questions, the author will review the key literature relevant to this study, to provide a strong, contextual background to the researcher's empirical work.

The area of values research will be explored, alongside an examination of international brand marketing to children, and issues relating to the process of socialization in young consumers. Literature highlighting the fascinating relationship between children's consumption and their emerging sense of self and identity will be reviewed, to gain an insight into current thinking on the role that objects, and most particularly branded goods, might play in young consumers' lives.

After justifying the researcher's choice of product categories, age group, gender and geographic markets, the author's research methodology will be outlined, presenting, as already mentioned, both the philosophical perspective and the methodological approach. Particular attention will be paid to cross-cultural

research issues, and specific challenges relating to carrying out research with children in the author's selected age group.

The author will then go on to discuss the pilot study carried out, with particular focus on learnings relating to the research process, and an assessment of modifications required for the full-scale fieldwork. The full-scale research study and conclusions from it will then be presented in some detail, highlighting how the author's findings support, complement, or differ from findings in the existing literature. In this way, the researcher will show how her work fits within, and contributes to, the existing body of thinking on the means-end chain model, cross-cultural research issues, personal values, and brands and their relationship to young consumers' lives.

We will also examine the relationship between consumption and the child's emerging sense of self, along with a discussion of involvement levels in the chosen product categories. In addition, the author will highlight the contribution that her work may offer to brand owners and marketing managers, as well as those who form public, social policy. The thesis will conclude with an assessment of limitations and issues faced in this research study, together with recommendations for future research.

The author has been heartened by interest shown in this research study, as evidenced by the publication of a number of conference papers and journal articles, where findings from parts of the pilot study have been reported [see Appendix 1 for a full list of publications relating to this research]. The researcher hopes and believes that this Ph.D. thesis will make a valid and interesting contribution to knowledge, and will now go on to describe the context surrounding this research, and the questions that will be addressed by it.

2. RESEARCH CONTEXT AND OBJECTIVES

2.1 Research Context

In this section, the author aims to provide a rationale for her study, and a context for her research. The author will highlight the areas where a good deal of academic literature already exists, together with areas where academic research is less substantial. In this way, the author will illustrate the gap in academic knowledge to which her study will attempt to make a contribution.

Understanding the needs and motivations of young consumers is increasingly important to many brand marketers, as this target group's purchasing power, as well as their influence on purchasing, become more and more significant (McNeal, 1992; Carey, 1998). McNeal (1992) asserts that it is since the 1960s that we have seen the development of children as an increasingly important primary, influence, and future market. European studies show that it is at approximately nine years of age that children begin to make their own purchases of snacks, magazines and small toys (Villwock, 1997). In the United States, on the other hand, an estimated seven million children as young as four years of age, are spending an average of \$4.42 per week, and are developing brand and store preferences (McNeal, 1992). It is clearly essential that, internationally, brand manufacturers have a detailed understanding of children's influence, motivations and values, if they are to target this segment in the most effective way.

As, increasingly, companies seek to internationalise the sales of their products, many companies also seek to determine the conditions that will lead to effective global branding (Kapferer, 1997). The last thirty to forty years, for example, have seen the emergence of 'universal' toy brands, such as Barbie, Power Rangers, and Disney character toys, and, more recently, global clothing brands, such as Nike and Reebok. However, this international brand status does not necessarily imply global standardisation of all elements of the marketing mix.

For international brand producers to be successful in this area, they must have a clear understanding of any effects geographic culture may have on children's needs and desires. There are contrasting views as to how important cultural differences are when it comes to assessing children's values and preferences. According to McNeal (1992):

"In general, it appears that before there is a geographic culture there is a children's culture; that children are very much alike around the industrialized world. They love to play, first and foremost, they love to snack, mainly on sweets, and they love being children with other children. The result is that they very much want the same things [...]. Therefore, it appears that fairly standardised multinational marketing strategies to children around the globe are viable." (McNeal, 1992).

Stephen Kline, on the other hand, expresses concern at the proliferation of brands imposed, in his view, by distant global powers, rather than inspired by the actual desires and values of children:

"The gravitation towards cultural convergence may have more to do with the growth of marketing linked media practices than with the autonomous play values of child consumers [...]. Cultural convergence expresses itself less as an articulation of universalism, than as a narrowing of scope, diversity and range of play options and style." (Kline, 1995)

While Kline (1995) and McNeal (1992) have carried out research that combines issues relating to cultural differences between children, their play values, and marketing to children, this is an area where few other academic researchers have conducted studies. A significant amount of research has been carried out on marketing [and more specifically, advertising] to children within national borders (Robertson & Rossiter, 1974; Goldberg & Gorn, 1974; Galst & White, 1976; Burr & Burr, 1997; Roedder, 1981; Roedder et al, 1983; Macklin, 1987; Kunkel & Roberts, 1991; Brand, Bradley & Greenberg, 1994, etc.). Equally, many

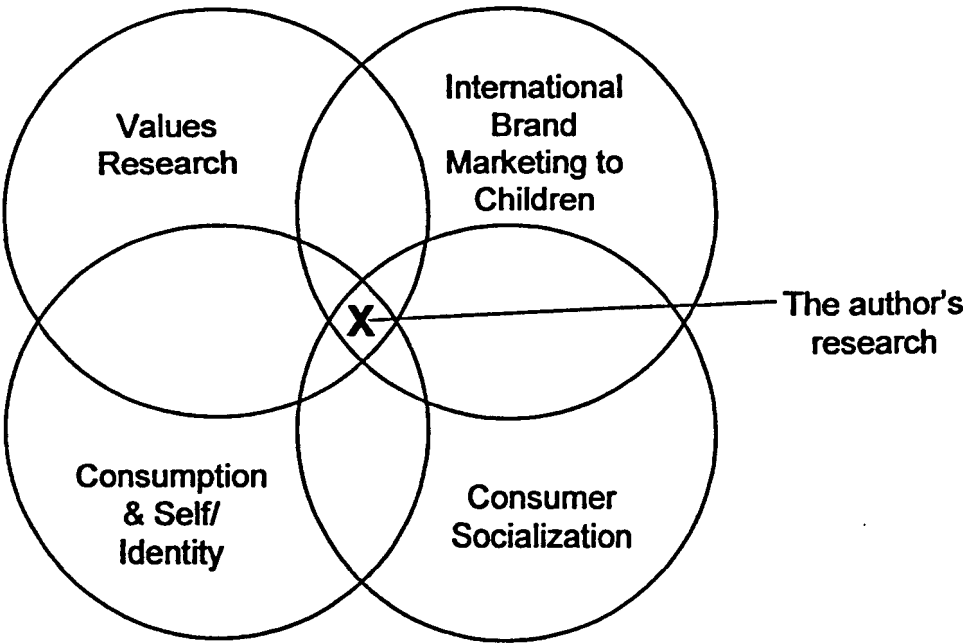
researchers have explored issues relating to cultural differences among adults (Geertz, 1973; Hofstede, 1983; Trompenaars, 1993; Usunier, 1993, etc.), and some research addresses issues of international brand marketing to children (Wyckham & Collins-Dodd, 1997; Kapferer, 1998; Lindstrom, 2003).

Clearly, as children develop into consumers, it is important to understand the influences that affect their socialization, and research in this field offers an interesting exploration of this area (for example, Ward, 1974; Roedder John & Whitney, 1986; Brée, 1990; Roedder John, 1999; Rose et al, 2002). In addition, we know from both psychology and marketing literature, that children and adults can use possessions and the goods they purchase, to support or enhance their sense of identity and self (for example, Grubb & Hupp, 1968; Dolich, 1969; Dixon & Street, 1975; Furby, 1978 & 1991; Quester et al, 2000; Hogg & Banister, 2001; Kjeldgaard, 2002).

As children develop a sense of their own identities, they also develop a sense of which personal values are important to them. Personal values have proved a fruitful area for research among an adult audience (Rokeach, 1969; Kahle, 1984; Reynolds & Gutman, 1984; Reynolds & Perkins, 1986; Jolly et al, 1988; Gutman, 1990 & 1991 etc.). Although research that combines any of these areas is, understandably, less substantial, there is, nonetheless, an increasing body of research on the area of cross-cultural values (for example, Grunert et al, 1989; Baker & Knox, 1994; Brunso & Grunert, 1998; Valette-Florence et al, 1999). But what of the area of cross-cultural values research among children? Patricia Kennedy has combined two of these three areas in her research: personal values and marketing to children, exploring whether values can be a useful tool for segmenting children's markets in the USA (Kennedy, 1990). Kennedy has also highlighted the List of Values (Kahle, 1986) as a useful value measurement tool for children (Kennedy, 1995). It is clear, however, that a lack of research on cross-cultural differences in children's values leaves many questions unanswered, regarding the relationship between these values, and the products and brands children consume.

The proposed research study will make a valuable contribution to academic knowledge by synthesising research from the fields of personal values, international brand marketing, consumer socialization, and consumption and sense of self or identity. The author's contribution lies in linking these four areas, and using them as a bridge to uncover the connections between brand choice and personal values among young consumers.

Figure 1: The Author's Research: A Bridge Between Four Areas of Existing Literature



The study will provide empirical data which will form the basis of an exploration of similarities and differences in children's values across two geographic markets: Spain and the UK. The author will assess the resulting implications for international brand managers. The two-country approach taken in this work reflects the importance for brand marketers of understanding consumers' preferences and motivations across geographic boundaries, in today's global market-place.

The author will also highlight any implications this work has for those who form public, social policy. It is interesting to note that, over the course of the author's study, an increasing concern has emerged that children are under too much pressure from their peers to own the 'right' brands (Keynote Research, Brand Strategy, 2003). Allied with this is the emergence of concerns from the Food Standards Agency [FSA] and the Government regarding the alarming increase in childhood obesity in the UK.

The FSA reports that, *"today, an estimated 8.5% of six year olds, and 15% of fifteen year olds, are obese."* (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). We can see how steeply obesity in children has increased in a recent article in The Times: *"Obesity almost doubled among those aged two to four between 1989 and 1998 from 5% to 9%, and trebled among those aged six to fifteen between 1990 and 2001 from 5% to 16%."* (The Times, February 12th, 2004). It is feared that, if the present trends continue, *"a third of adults, a fifth of boys and a third of girls will be clinically obese by 2020."* (The Times, February 12th, 2004). Excessive snacking on fatty foods such as crisps contributes to the poor diet eaten by many children. The author will highlight findings from her research that add to this debate. Let us now move on to present the objectives of the research, and the themes and propositions to be explored.

2.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The author's research is an exploration of the role personal values play in understanding brand choice among 11-12 year old, female, British and Spanish consumers. The **key research objective** will be to build, from the bottom up, an understanding of the personal values that snacks and clothing brands 'tap into', encourage and satisfy for these young consumers. The output and findings of this study will, therefore, be driven by the data generated by the respondents; the study is data driven rather than theory driven.

This objective of building up an understanding of the respondents' personal values will be achieved through an approach based on the means-end model, using the laddering technique (Gutman, 1982). Use of this technique will reveal deep insights into young consumers' preferences and motivations, in the context of qualitative, depth interviewing [see section 7, Research Methodology]. The data generated will, therefore, be analysed to allow the author to carry out an element of theory building, and the study will clearly take an inductive rather than a deductive approach.

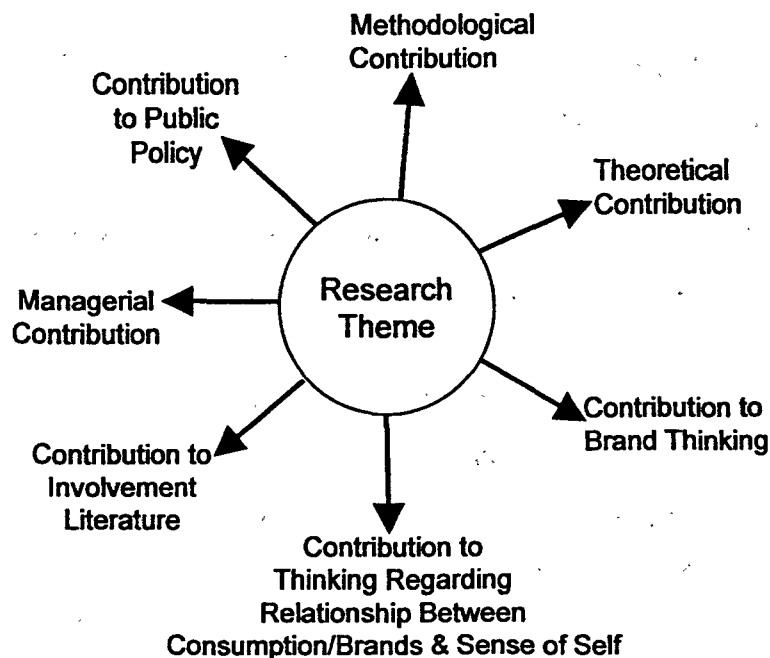
It is important to stress that the author's research is exploratory in its nature. Rather than providing definitive answers to a set of 'hard' questions or hypotheses, the author will investigate a **key research theme**, as outlined below:

Key Research Theme

This study will examine how successfully the means-end chain model can be applied to 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls, and whether a clear association exists between these young consumers' personal values and the brand choices they make.

This investigation will enable the author to make a contribution in several different areas. It will lead to both a methodological and a theoretical contribution to knowledge. The author's study will also make a contribution to brand thinking, and to thinking regarding the relationship between consumption/brands and one's sense of self. In addition, a contribution will be made to the academic literature on involvement, as well as a contribution to managerial and social policy issues.

Figure 2: Research Theme and Resulting Areas of Contribution



Within each of these areas of contribution, there are a number of subjects of interest that the author will explore, and where the author's findings will add insight. We will not, therefore, give precise answers to questions, but we will, rather, add insight and understanding to the research theme and related areas of exploration. The author will now highlight each area of contribution to knowledge, focusing on the specific themes pertaining to each area that will be explored in this research.

1. Methodological Contribution

Themes to be Explored

- (i) Can the means-end chain model be applied successfully to the British and Spanish respondents?**
- (ii) What contribution does this study make to means-end chain theory from a cross-cultural perspective?**

- (iii) Can we really make a direct link between personal values and actual brand choices?**
- (iv) What adaptations to the laddering technique are required to make it suitable for use with 11-12 year old respondents?**

The methodological contribution lies in the learnings that will be gained from using the means-end chain approach and laddering technique with 11-12 year olds. This approach and technique have been widely used in research among adults (for example, Gutman, 1982; Olson & Reynolds, 1983 and 2001; Reynolds & Gutman, 1988; Reynolds, Dethloff & Westberg, 2001), including in a cross-cultural context (for example, Kara, Laskey & Seaton, 1993; Valette-Florence & Rapacchi, 1991; Baker & Knox, 1994; Brunso & Grunert, 1998; Valette-Florence et al, 1999). Psychologists (for example, Salmon, 1976; Ravenette, 1977 and 1996; Dalton, 1996; Glenny, 1996) have used repertory grids and personal construct theory to assess personality and carry out psychological investigations with children. However, academic research using the laddering technique among children, to explore the link between products and values, is extremely limited. Indeed, Patricia Kennedy (1990 and 1995) appears to be the only academic to have published work in this area. There is a clear gap in academic research that uses the laddering technique among children, in a cross-cultural context.

The methodological contribution will lie, first, in exploring how successfully the means-end chain model can be applied to 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls. It will be interesting to see whether the research technique elicits 'ladders' that include all three elements of the means-end model, i.e. attributes, consequences and values, or whether respondents find it difficult to go beyond the level of consequences or benefits, unable to articulate the achievement of higher level values.

The author will also highlight the contribution this study makes to means-end chain theory from a cross-cultural perspective, and will explore the issue of

whether there appears to be a direct link between personal values and actual brand choices. In addition, the author will make a methodological contribution to knowledge by refining and adapting the laddering technique as a research instrument, in order to make it suitable for use with 11-12 year old respondents.

2. Theoretical Contribution

Themes to be Explored

- (v) Which personal values are being satisfied by snacks and clothing brands, for the British and Spanish respondents?**
- (vi) What new insights on values have we gained that can make a contribution to means-end chain theory and the personal values literature?**

If we consider contrasting research approaches in the field of consumer behaviour, some researchers take a cognitive approach where, clearly, the role of cognitive/psychological factors are pre-eminent. Other researchers take a behaviourist approach, where the focus is on the role of environmental factors. While the author acknowledges that environmental factors play an important role in children's socialization and development, the approach being used in this research is a cognitive one. The author's theoretical contribution to knowledge will lie in uncovering and mapping, to some degree, the respondents' cognitive structures; an act that will be made possible by using the laddering technique.

Our findings will reveal which personal values are being satisfied by snacks and clothing brands, for both the British and Spanish respondents. These findings, then, will give us new insights into the types of personal values being satisfied for these young consumers, and this will provide a useful contribution to means-end chain theory and the personal values literature in general [for instance, List Of Values (Kahle et al, 1986), and Rokeach Value Survey (Rokeach, 1969)].

3. Contribution to Brand Thinking

Themes to be Explored

- (vii) **What contribution to brand thinking can we make with our findings? What role do brands play for these young girls?**

Many academic researchers have focused on the subject of brands and branding (for example, King, 1991; De Chernatony & McDonald, 1992; Kotler et al, 1996; Fournier, 1996; Hanby, 1999; Cooper, 1999), investigating what brands are and what they mean to consumers. There is, currently, however, a limited understanding of young consumers' attitudes, motivations, buying behaviour, and relationship with brands. Insights gained into the role brands play, and what brands mean for 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls will represent a valuable contribution to brand thinking in this area, in an international context.

4. Contribution to Thinking Regarding the Relationship Between Consumption/Brands and One's Sense of Self

Themes to be Explored

- (viii) **Do the respondents use the brands or products they wear and consume to help define their sense of self?**

Psychology and marketing literature tells us that people can use possessions and consumer goods to support or enhance their sense of self (for example, Grubb & Hupp, 1968; Dolich, 1969; Dixon & Street, 1975; Furby, 1978; Sirgy, 1982; Belk, 1988; Hogg & Banister, 2001; Kjeldgaard, 2002). Possessions and products can be seen as symbols of identity. It will be interesting to examine our findings and see how the consumption of certain brands contributes to these young people's sense of identity and self; a sense of identity that is in the process of emerging at 11-12 years of age.

5. Contribution to the Involvement Literature

Themes to be Explored

- (ix) Do our findings reveal high levels of involvement in both snacks and clothing products?**
- (x) Do snacks brands offer potential for symbolic positioning, just as clothing brands do?**
- (xi) What differences emerge between the Spanish and English respondents, in terms of involvement levels?**

Previous research has found clothing to be extremely ego-involving (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985). Snacks, on the other hand, score highly for hedonic value, but score low on the other facets of involvement [sign value, risk importance, and extent of decision process] (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985).

Peter & Olson (1987) suggest that means-end chains can be a particularly effective tool for understanding involvement levels, while Claeys and Vanden Abeele (2001) propose using characteristics of the Hierarchical Values Map as potential indices of involvement. Our findings, in the form of Hierarchical Values maps – the major output from the laddering technique – can, therefore, be used to determine involvement levels for the two product categories, for both British and Spanish respondents. In this way, we will be able to assess whether snacks brands lend themselves to symbolic positioning, just as clothing brands do.

6. Managerial Contribution

Themes to be Explored

- (xii) What do the benefits and values identified in this study tell us about the type of brand positioning models that would be relevant for snacks and clothing brands, in Spain and the UK?**
- (xiii) What key, motivating dimensions do our findings reveal, that could be relevant in developing consumer typologies, and effective segmentation plans?**
- (xiv) Is there a coherent international youth market, where needs and wants are largely the same? Do our findings reveal any particular marketing approach that might be successful with this age group?**

It is believed that the findings that emerge from the author's use of means-end chain theory could assist managers in the successful marketing of brands to young consumers; for instance, by providing information which could be used by brand owners to segment the market in new ways, and by defining benefits and values that could enable managers to develop relevant and appealing brand positioning models for this age group.

In addition, the author will carry out a cross-cultural comparison of findings, identifying the differences and similarities between the two geographic cultures and the two brand categories. This will be particularly relevant to brand owners given the increasing internationalisation of many young consumers' brands. The two categories provide an interesting contrast as many clothing brands have gained considerable international recognition, while snacks brands still tend to remain local in nature. The author's findings will lead to interesting insights into the validity of cross-comparisons of brand values, features and motivational consequences.

7. Contribution to Public Policy

Themes to be Explored

- (xv) What can the author's findings contribute to the debate on how to protect our children from excessive peer pressure to own certain brands?**
- (xvi) What can the author's findings contribute to the debate on how to tackle the problem of increasing childhood obesity?**

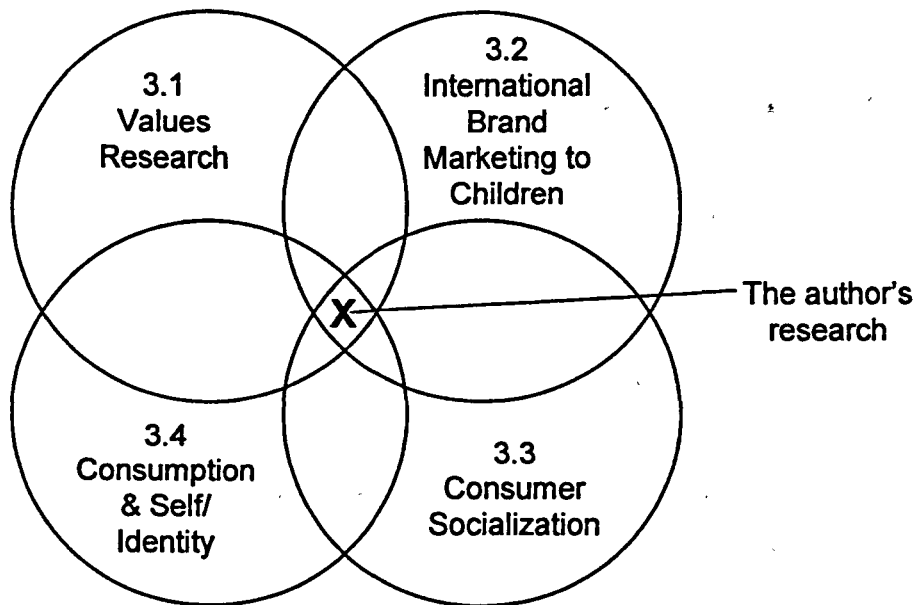
As discussed, there is increasing concern among parents that children are put under too much pressure from their peers to own certain brands (Keynote Research, Brand Strategy, 2003), and that children may feel inferior if they do not have the brands their friends have. It will be interesting to see whether any of the author's findings can add further insight to this debate.

We have also seen that childhood obesity is increasing rapidly, and that one of the reasons for this is that children are eating more fatty foods, such as crisps. According to the Food Standards Agency Chair, Sir John Krebs, *"We already know that many children's diets contain more fat, sugar and salt than is recommended. We know that the level of obesity in children is rising and, in the words of the Chief Medical Officer, is a health timebomb that could explode."* (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). The author will highlight any findings that are relevant to this debate on children's health.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Values Research

Figure 3: The Author's Research: A Bridge Between Four Areas of Existing Literature



In this section, the author will discuss all the aspects of personal values research that are pertinent to her study. We will begin by examining literature that can give us an insight into the meaning of personal values. We will then present various lists of values that have been developed, and that are believed to be relevant at a more or less universal level. Having explored values from a macro perspective, we will move on to a discussion of the micro perspective: the means-end chain approach. We will include a discussion of potential limitations and new developments relating to means-end theory. We will also present a discussion of the existence or otherwise of a clear link between personal values and actual behaviour.

We will then move the discussion on to an examination of cross-cultural values research, and discuss literature that uses both the macro and the micro approach. We will highlight any means-end research exploring values in a cross-cultural context with children. Having discussed brands in relation to consumers' values, we will then explore the subject of children's values in detail, highlighting any cross-cultural differences that emerge in the literature. While discussing this literature, the author will attempt to highlight the relevance to and implications for her research study.

3.1.1 Understanding Personal Values: The Macro Perspective

The author's research draws on theory from the field of personal values. The generally accepted definition of a value is that proposed by Milton Rokeach (1969): a value is, *"an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence"*. It is critically important to understand what these values are, as they serve as a basis for the formation of beliefs, attitudes and behaviours (Rokeach, 1969). Rokeach describes values as, *"a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes and actions of at least some others – our children, for example"* (Rokeach, 1969:159-60). According to Rokeach, then, parents will attempt to pass down to their children, beliefs about preferable conduct or end-states of existence.

In Michael Munson's (1984) work on personal values, he sums up the breadth of definitions by scholars, while at the same time acknowledging the reasonable degree of consensus that has emerged. Values, he says, have been defined as, *"a need, a belief, a motive, any object of interest, a conception of the desirable and not something merely desired, a standard in terms of which evaluations are made, and a cognized belief of what ought to be required by society."* (Munson, 1984:16). He summarizes values as, *"beliefs about what the individual considers right, fair, just, or desirable."* (ibid.).

Baker and Jenkins (1993) highlight five key elements of values that appear frequently in the literature on this subject:

1. Preference: values are concerned with choices or alternatives.
2. Endurance: values are enduring beliefs.
3. Guidance: values act as guides to behaviour or action.
4. Centrality: values are beliefs that are centrally held.
5. Abstractness: values are abstract or ambiguous concepts, as opposed to attitudes which are generally seen as object-specific.

(Baker & Jenkins, 1993).

This analysis is in line with the five formal features of values identified by Schwartz and Bilsky (1987). According to the latter authors, values are. “[a] concepts or beliefs, [b] pertain to desirable end states or behaviours, [c] transcend specific situations, [d] guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and [e] are ordered by relative importance.” (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987:878).

Two distinct tracks have emerged in the literature with regard to applications of values theory: the macro approach, and the micro perspective. The macro approach is, “quantitative in essence, aimed to clustering individuals into groups defined by a priori specified value orientations” (Aurifeille & Valette-Florence, 1992:65). Eduard Spranger was one of the earliest writers to engage in, “a painstaking classification of human beings based solely on the things they value [...]”. The Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey (1960) values measure [AVL] is based on Spranger’s theoretical framework.” (Agle & Caldwell, 1999). Riesman’s (1950) work also fits within this macro perspective. He assumed that character is socially conditioned, and proposed three typologies of social character: tradition-directed, inner-directed, and other-directed (cited in Lee & Beatty, 1992:251). Kluckhohn (1951), too, attempted to define individuals according to distinct value orientations, claiming that, “a cultural value is determined by biological human nature, social interaction and the culture’s uniqueness.” (Lee & Beatty,

1992:252). Maslow's need hierarchy (1954) is also pertinent to this macro discussion of values. He believed that an individual's "*most basic needs must be satisfied at a minimum level before other needs are activated*" (cited in Lee & Beatty, 1992:252), and described a hierarchy moving from physiological needs to safety needs to belongingness, to self-esteem, to self-actualization. A value, to Maslow, is simply a specific type of need "*which motivates and directs individuals to fulfill it*" (ibid).

Moving our literature review into the 1960s, George England (1967) carried out some notable empirical research, developing the Personal Values Questionnaire (PVQ), and testing the personal and managerial values of managers from numerous countries (Agle & Caldwell, 1999:333). Rokeach's work (1969) also takes this macro approach to understanding values. In his Value Survey [RVS], he defines eighteen instrumental values [preferred modes of conduct] and eighteen terminal values [end states of existence]. Rokeach's terminal values are: a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world at peace, a world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship and wisdom. Instrumental values include such dispositions as, ambitious, broad-minded, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative and independent (Rokeach, 1969).

A clear benefit of using a pre-determined list of values such as the RVS is that it can be applied in a quantitative fashion to diverse groups of people, so that values can be compared. In practice, few researchers have used the RVS in the way originally intended, most researchers adopting a scaling or rating approach, rather than Rokeach's prescribed ranking method. Munson explains the problem with the ranking approach, saying, "*Without knowledge of the extent to which the individual perceives a discrepancy between his or her actual level of value realization and the subjective ideal, the motivational properties to be inferred from any value ranking [...] are considerably less clear.*" (Munson, 1984:20).

Scaling supports the view that macro methods of eliciting values are largely driven by the notion of preference.

Other authors who have presented a similar list or inventory approach are Holman (1984) with her Values and Life Styles [VALS], and Kahle et al's List of Values [LOV] (1986). VALS was originally created by Arnold Mitchell of SRI International in 1978, presenting typologies of the US consumer. It is rooted in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954), and in the concept of social character. Typologies include: Integrateds, Societally Conscious, Experientials, I-am-me's, Achievers, Emulators, Belongers, Sustainers and Survivors (Holman, 1984). SRI now has a new version of Values and Life Style, called VALS 2 (Richie, 1989), which is, *"less focused on values and inner versus outer directed perspectives"* (Lee & Beatty, 1992:253). The original VALS, which has been used by major US firms for many years, continues to be preferred over VALS 2 by a number of organisations (Lee & Beatty, 1992). This author will examine the types of personal values elicited from her respondents with reference to the original VALS (Holman, 1984) [see section 10.5], given the greater centrality of values to the typologies described there.

LOV (1986) was derived from Rokeach's list of 18 terminal values, Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and other contemporary thinking, resulting in a list of nine values [self-respect, sense of accomplishment, being well respected, security, warm relationship with others, sense of belonging, fun and enjoyment in life, self-fulfilment, and excitement] (Kahle et al, 1986).

In a similar vein, Schwartz (1994) identified ten types of values which were distinguished by their motivational goals (Schwartz, 1994:22). [Power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security]. He presented a theory of potentially universal aspects in the content of human values, and argued that values, *"are acquired both through socialization to dominant group values and through the unique learning experiences of individuals."* (Schwartz, 1994:21).

Use of these lists in research studies has generated some interesting insights into personal values on both a national and a cross-cultural level [for example, Schwartz, 1994]. However, several criticisms have also been directed at the macro approach to values research. For instance, no negative values tend to be described (Mattsson, 1990), and the lists used may not be a fair reflection of an individual's personal values orientation. A further concern is that different people interpret words and labels in different ways. Bougon (1992) asserts that this can be the case within a supposedly homogeneous cultural group [for example, managers]. The implications for cross-cultural research, then, are even more concerning.

Given the potential drawbacks highlighted above, the author prefers to allow her respondents to build up their own list of values, using their own language, rather than presenting respondents with a pre-determined list. This can be achieved using the means-end chain approach, and this is the subject to which we will now turn our attention.

3.1.2 The Means-End Chain Approach: The Micro Perspective

The means-end chain model forms part of the micro approach to understanding consumers' values. The micro perspective is qualitative in its very nature, using, *"in-depth qualitative methods to understand consumer motivations"* (Aurifeille & Valette-Florence, 1992:65). According to Aurifeille and Valette-Florence (1992), the micro framework provides a , *"sound paradigm to understand personal values and their relationships to the product characteristics."* (Aurifeille & Valette-Florence, 1992:65). While the macro approach measures values via rankings or ratings, and is generally aimed at segmenting individuals into groups defined by value orientations, the micro perspective removes the need for pre-determined lists of values, as values are built from the bottom up, by respondents themselves. While the macro approach is driven by the idea of preference, this approach is based on development through abstraction. As values will be described in the

respondent's own language, they may be less general, more concrete, and possibly more behaviour oriented (Baker & Knox, 1994).

The means-end model provides researchers with a theoretical framework that can be used to assess how product or brand choice can lead to the satisfaction of certain personal values for consumers. It shows simple, associative links between three levels: product attributes leading to consequences or benefits, which, in turn, satisfy personal values (Gutman, 1982). This three-level model is represented as:

Product attributes → consequences → values

Olson and Reynolds (1983) propose a more complex model, as follows:

Concrete attributes → abstract attributes → functional outcomes → psychosocial outcomes → instrumental values → terminal values (Olson & Reynolds, 1983).

It is generally accepted, however, that this six level model is not necessary for most applications. According to Olson & Reynolds (2001), a four level model has now become the most commonly used means-end chain:

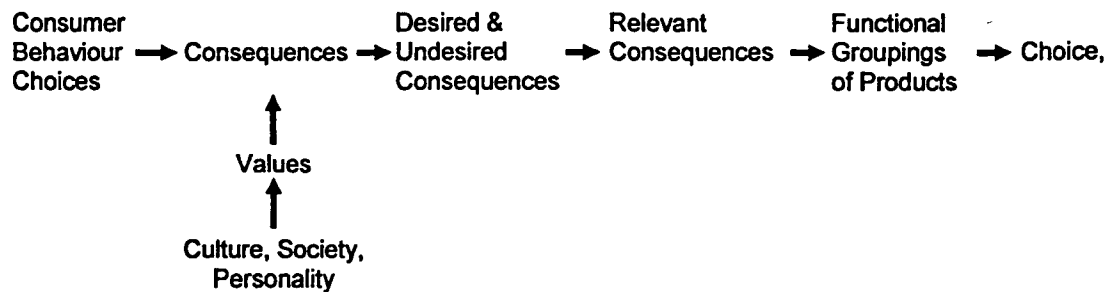
Attributes → functional consequences → psychosocial consequences → values or goals

To understand the linkages between levels in the chain, it is necessary to understand the differences as well as similarities between products. The means-end chain model developed by Gutman (1982) is based on the following assumptions about consumer behaviour:

1. Values play a dominant role in guiding choices; consumers choose actions that produce desired consequences and minimise undesired consequences.

2. Consumers reduce the complexity of choice by grouping products into sets or classes, depending on which features they emphasise, and which they ignore.

Figure 4: Consumer Choices and Consequences



Consequences = any result [physiological or psychological] accruing directly or indirectly to the consumer from his/her behaviour.

Desirable consequences = benefits

Source: (Baker & Knox, 1994): adapted from Gutman, (1982).

This theory that a close relationship exists between the product or brand choices a consumer makes and the values they seek to satisfy, is the theory that underpins the author's proposed research. As Dichter says, *"Examination of values provides a more meaningful and interpretive analysis of the underlying motives that structure attitudes and behaviour"* (Dichter, 1984:139).

The author's research, then, takes very much a cognitive approach. It is believed that means-end theory can be used to uncover the cognitive path between product choice and meaning for the consumer, and, in this way, can reveal insights into consumer behaviour. The process involved in means-end chain research – laddering - allows the researcher to map out at least part of each respondent's cognitive structure. What exactly do we mean by cognitive structure? A

consumer's consumption-relevant cognitive structure is described as, "*the way consumption-relevant knowledge is stored and organized in human memory. A basic hierarchical model is assumed, in which cognitive categories of different levels of abstraction are interlinked in chains and networks*" (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:210). Values are a cognitive category at a high level of abstraction. The laddering process, then, is intended to reveal the respondent's cognitive structure.

The author will use the laddering technique to explore and find support for means-end theory with young consumers. Laddering is a semi-structured form of probing, in-depth interviewing. It is used in many research contexts, but it is of most relevance to the author's study that it can be used to provide data for the means-end model. The laddering technique has the ability to cause respondents to think critically about connections between a product's attributes and their own personal motivations (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). It also enables the researcher to think critically about the connections the respondents are making. In other words, it helps to, "*develop an understanding of how consumers translate the attributes of products into meaningful associations with respect to self*" (Gutman, 1982), thereby allowing researchers to explore and understand this link between consumers' personal values and the brand choices they make. As Reynolds, Dethloff & Westberg (2001) assert, "*The means-end approach, as accomplished via laddering interviews, enables marketers to look at their brands through the consumer's eyes and see the brand in terms of the consumer's decision-making criteria.*" (Reynolds, Dethloff & Westberg, 2001:92).

Each unique pathway from attributes to values represents a possible perceptual orientation [or way of thinking], with regard to the respondent's view of the product/brand. Analysis of this in-depth, qualitative data can allow marketers to create appropriate image positionings for their brands, based on the brand's personal relevance to the consumer (Reynolds, Dethloff & Westberg, 2001:117). In short, it permits an insight into consumers' underlying personal motivations with respect to a given product/brand (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). As Olson & Reynolds (2001) stress, "*Personal relevance is the cornerstone to understanding*

consumer decision-making, and understanding personal relevance is the main advantage of the means-end approach [...]. Consumers are likely to select those choice alternatives that are seen as more useful for their needs [relevant for achieving goals and values]" (Olson & Reynolds, 2001:8).

Having identified the product category of interest, the laddering process begins by showing respondents different brand names from this category, in random sets of three. The respondent is asked to say how two of these brands are alike, but different from the third, i.e. to pick the 'odd one out' and say why. This derives from Kelly's personal construct theory and repertory grid technique (Kelly, 1963). Kelly believed that, *"Man comes to know something about the universe only in so far as he can make interpretations of it, and approaches an accurate awareness of events by successive approximations."* (Bannister & Mair, 1968:4). This is in keeping with the subjective-interpretive epistemology with which the author feels a strong affinity [see section 7.1 The Philosophical Perspective].

So what is personal construct theory? It is the theory that, *"a person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events. [...]* *The ways in which a person anticipates events are defined by his personal constructs. A construct is a way in which some things are interpreted as being alike and at the same time different from other things."* (Bannister & Mair, 1968:13). In his repertory grid test, Kelly used role titles on cards [for example, a teacher you like, a teacher you dislike, wife, husband, father, mother] and showed these to his subject in groups of three. The subject was asked to suggest some important way in which two of them are alike, and thereby different from the third. Kelly was concerned, he said, *"with finding better ways to help a person reconstrue his life so that he need not be the victim of his past"* (Kelly, 1963:23, cited in Bannister & Mair, 1968:8). The author's triadic sorting exercise clearly has no such lofty aspirations. The principle, however, is the same, in that the constructs that are most important to the respondent are elicited through this process. The cognitive structure approach adopted in means-end chain theory clearly draws on and is informed by Kelly's approach.

The distinctions elicited through the triadic sorting form the constructs that will be used for discussion in the remainder of the interview. The respondent is asked which constructs are most important to him or her when making a purchase, and he/she is then asked *why* that is important to him/her. With adult respondents, this "why?" question is repeated obsessively, probing deeper and deeper, to ultimately gain insights into the consumer's higher level, values-oriented motivations for brand choice. The methods section of this paper will show how the author has adapted this technique for use with young consumers. The author will also bear in mind comments made by psychologists (for example, Salmon, 1976; Ravenette, 1977) who have used repertory grid techniques to carry out psychological investigations with children [see section 7.2.2 Carrying Out Research With Children].

The key output following analysis and aggregation of the laddering data is the Hierarchical Values Map (HVM). The literature shows that one can take either a modest or a more ambitious view of what the HVM represents. The modest view is that it is, "*a device that allows us to see the major results from a laddering study of a group of respondents without having to go through all the individual ladders. The more ambitious view is that the HVM is an estimate of cognitive structure for that group of respondents.*" (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:219). Grunert & Grunert (1995) assume the more ambitious view, as does this author. What is certain is that the HVM is a clear, straightforward way of presenting the researcher's interpretation of data, which has derived from the content analysis of each individual's ladder. Reynolds, Dethloff & Westberg (2001) go further, asserting a definite link between the HVM and consumer behaviour. They call the HVM a Consumer Decision Map [CDM], "*because it represents how people make decisions rather than just how their thoughts are organized.*" (Reynolds, Dethloff & Westberg, 2001:111).

Having now discussed means-end chain theory and the laddering process that it relies on, we will present a discussion of issues, limitations, and recent developments relating to this theory.

3.1.3 Means-End Chain Theory and Laddering: Issues, Limitations and Developments

Some researchers have questioned the assumptions on which means-end chain theory is based. The assumption, for instance, that the linkages in the means-end chain model represent inferences in the minds of consumers, is questioned by Bagozzi & Dabholkar (2000): *“means-end chains might represent stylized descriptions of how respondents think they or others should or might react to products rather than what are their true internal cognitions and inferences with regard to the products.”* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:536). Rather than taking a cognitive structure view of means-end chain theory, the latter authors present an alternative philosophical and psychological perspective: discursive psychology.

The central tenet of discursive psychology is that, *“human thinking – including memory, reasoning, emotions, and decision-making – is an inherently social activity ingrained in one’s use of language and constituted through public and private discourses. [...] It is not so much that words in particular, or language in general, describe thoughts or thought processes, as it is that people use language to express their judgments and provide bases for their judgments.”* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:537). In their use of the means-end chain approach with respondents, the authors summarize data in a cognitive schema. However, *“The cognitive schemas are not taken as representations of internal mental processes, as is done in approaches characterized by cognitivism. Rather, the cognitive schemas so generated are taken to represent the grammar of discursive presentations of oneself to oneself or to others.”* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:539-40). The authors describe this viewpoint as the, *“new cognitivism”* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:540).

Bagozzi and Dabholkar (2000) go on to assert that a limitation of the laddering technique is that it works best for physical products, and is less well adapted to the marketing of ideas, people, or services, as these are contexts not readily described by physical properties: laddering, *“presumes that people’s reasons are organized from concrete, physical criteria to abstract, intangible criteria, where people are required to conform to this a priori ordering in using the laddering procedure”* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:538). As the author’s chosen product categories are physical products, this did not present a problem in the author’s research.

Cohen & Warlop (2001) also put the cognitive structure approach to means-end theory to one side, and instead propose a motivational perspective on means-end chains. They suggest that proponents should, *“revise the model to incorporate the assumption that values are motivationally relevant only at times and in situations where they are [made] salient.”* (Cohen & Warlop, 2001:402). The latter authors believe that laddering is severely limited as, *“in striving for useful and representative means –end chains, individuals’ responses are interpreted, coded and aggregated, thus necessarily sacrificing a certain degree of accuracy for parsimony”* (Cohen & Warlop, 2001:403). They refer to what they see as the, *“leading nature of the procedure. Participants are literally ‘pushed up’ an attribute-consequence-goal-value hierarchy in an effort to discover which of these seem to be linked hierarchically.”* (Cohen & Warlop, 2001:403). They believe that asserting that laddering allows the researcher to map consumers’ cognitive structures seems too ambitious. They do feel, however, that laddering can provide useful insights into the question, *“why do consumers buy this product [and how can I influence them to buy more of it]?”* (Cohen & Warlop, 2001:409).

In a similar vein, Botschen, Thelen and Pieters (1999) suggest that by asking the ‘why?’ question in a laddering interview, *“artificial abstract levels may occur because respondents think in a more strategic way and are trying harder to find arguments for their buying behavior than they usually do.”* (Botschen, Thelen & Pieters, 1999: 44). A further issue relating to laddering, highlighted by Sergupta and Fitzsimons (2000), is that when asked to give reasons for

preferences for a product, people, *"tend to focus disproportionately on cues that are easily verbalized"* (Sengupta & Fitzsimons, 2000:319); these may not, however, be key reasons for preference.

These criticisms of means-end chain theory and laddering sound a useful note of caution to researchers embarking on such studies. The author's research follows the cognitive structure view described by Grunert & Grunert (1995), *"that means-end chains are a model of consumers' consumption-relevant cognitive structure, i.e. of the way consumption-relevant knowledge is stored and organized in human memory."* (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:210). The author would not, however, go as far as to claim that means-end chains are a complete and flawless model of consumers' cognitive structures. They can, rather, be viewed as, *"an excerpt of consumers' cognitive structure, concentrating on aspects of it that are regarded as relevant from a specific angle."* (Grunert, Beckmann & Sorensen, 2001:68). The author's laddering interviews will allow respondents to discuss the product of interest in a variety of usage situations, thereby assuring that as broad a view as possible of the respondent's cognitive structure is gained.

A number of authors have proposed methodological refinements to the analysis of means-end chains. Aurifeille and Valette-Florence (1995), for instance, describe a new approach for determining a population's dominant means-end chains, through a 'chain-constrained' clustering method, and by examining *"distances in the semantic space"* (Aurifeille & Valette-Florence, 1995:267). In a later paper, Valette-Florence (1998) proposes using the optimal scaling features of non-linear generalized canonical analysis [NGCA], which will allow the researcher, *"to identify consumers' segments with specific means-end orientations, but also give the probability of the associations between the means-end solutions and any pre-specified criterion, such as the countries where the respondents live."* (Valette-Florence, 1998:161).

The author believes that, while this level of multi-dimensional scaling and multiple correspondence analysis are interesting developments, it will not be

necessary to use these highly mathematical techniques in her research: the more traditional approach of content analysis, determination of dominant chains by counting total numbers of direct and indirect relations, and careful manual construction of HVMS, will reveal sufficient richness of insight for the purposes of this thesis. The author finds manual analysis and construction most appealing as it allows a constant closeness to the data and means that the output can be intuitively checked for sense at all stages. The author does acknowledge, however, that the Laddermap software application (Gengler & Reynolds, 1989), where ladders can be automatically generated, could be a useful tool to aid analysis and presentation of the data.

3.1.4 Is There a Link Between Personal Values and Behaviour?

As discussed previously, means-end chain theory assumes a link between personal values and actual choices made by consumers [see section 3.1.2). It is worth, however, setting this within the context of the diverse views on this subject found within the personal values literature. In Munson's work on personal values (1984) he discusses the difficulties in linking values and brand choice. He asserts that, a) different value systems may lead to the same final behaviour, and b) similar value systems may lead to different behaviour (Munson, 1984:22). He asserts that values may prove more useful in discriminating choice behaviours among alternative generic product/service categories [e.g. nuclear versus conventional energy sources], than among specific brands within a given generic category [e.g. coffee, orange juice]. He concludes that values are only indirectly linked to brand choice behaviours, stating that it is, "*more likely that any one value or value system will operate to influence brand choice through a system of intervening attitudes.*" (Munson, 1984:23).

These views are echoed by Shrum and McCarty (1997) who assert that, "*values studies have tended to view the relationship between values and behaviour as simple and direct [...] it ignores other variables, both antecedent and intervening, in the value-behavior relation. Examples of these variables include attitudes,*

individual difference variables, and demographics." (Shrum & McCarty, 1997:140). Clearly, if there is a weak link between personal values and behaviour, then, *"the impact of values on marketing strategy will be correspondingly weak as well."* (Shrum & McCarty, 1997:140). They conclude from their studies using Rokeach's Value Scale and Kahle's List of Values that, for low involvement products in particular, choices among brands may have little to do with value orientations. They also reach the interesting conclusion that the value-behaviour link depends on the nature of the individual. They assert that individuals who are more aware of their internal dispositions such as motivations, attitudes and values, and who are more prone to introspection, should be, *"more confident of their values, and more aware of the links between internal dispositions and behavior."* (Shrum & McCarty, 1997:146). Their study concluded that, *"the more individuals were aware of their inner feelings, the more differentiation they exhibited in their ratings of the personal values."* (Shrum & McCarty, 1997:147).

Other researchers agree that there are variables that intervene between values and behaviour. Prensky and Wright-Isak (1997) believe that, *"attitudes and behaviors are enactments of values and that enactment is a sociocultural process that occurs in the context of a community."* (Prensky & Wright-Isak, 1997:69). Michael Allen (2000 and 2001) proposes an attribute-mediation approach where, *"human values do not influence product preference directly, and instead values influence the importance of product attributes that in turn guide product evaluation and purchase."* (Allen, 2000:31). He also describes the attitude-mediation approach where, *"values influence general attitudes toward products that in turn guide product evaluation."* (Allen, 2000: 37).

If we keep in mind, then, that many variables may intervene between an individual's values and their actual behaviour, to what extent can we argue that the means-end chain approach and laddering results can be used to predict behaviour? Grunert & Grunert (1995) acknowledge that there are few studies in the literature showing laddering results as predictors of behaviour (Grunert &

Grunert, 1995:212). As Allen suggests, means-end chain theory already includes the influence of product attributes in guiding product evaluation and purchase (Allen, 2000: 39). Aurifeille and Valette-Florence (1992) argue for the superiority of the micro perspective over the macro approach, if one wants to predict the choice of a brand. Their research with cigarette smokers using the means-end chain method, *"clearly shows the connections of given brands with specific means-end associations."* (Aurifeille & Valette-Florence, 1992:79).

Manyiwa and Crawford (2002) propose a model extending means-end theory, that incorporates the importance of social contexts in determining linkages between values and behaviour (Manyiwa & Crawford, 2002:58). Their research looks at mid-week break choices in a family context: *"It is argued that values linked to actual choices in real natural contexts could be more enduring and more effective in predicting consumers' choices than the values elicited using hypothetical contexts."* (Manyiwa & Crawford, 2002:67). The author recognises the logic of Manyiwa & Crawford's proposal, and her laddering interviews cover a range of usage occasions when discussing the respondent's preferred brands. While a 'real' natural context is missing, the interviews make many references to real social contexts which, one would hope, would improve the predictive validity of the results.

Another interesting extension to means-end theory is Scholderer, Brunso and Grunert's (2002) new lifestyle model. In it, they assume that lifestyle is a strict mediator in the relationship between values and behaviour: *"The empirical relation between personal values and behavior is generally low [...]. A number of studies have tried to bridge the gap with different mediating constructs [...] intending to show that there is in fact a link from values to behavior, even if it may not be a direct one."* (Scholderer, Brunso & Grunert, 2002:553). In contrast, the theory outlined here, *"predicts the absence of a direct value-to-behavior link, assuming that abstract personal values have to be transformed into specific goals and linked to behavioural routines before they can initiate goal-directed action."* (ibid).

Overall, then, the 'jury is still out' in terms of deciding the predictive validity of means-end chain studies when it comes to consumers' actual product choices. There is clearly scope for further research in this area, to add deeper insight to the existing body of knowledge. The author will examine her own empirical work, and make an assessment of the predictive validity of her findings later on in this thesis [see section 10.3.3]. We will now turn our attention to research that has been carried out in the field of cross-cultural values.

3.1.5 Cross-Cultural Values Research

The extent to which values are culture-bound is of particular importance for the author's research, given that samples from two countries have been studied. According to Rokeach, a person's values are assumed to come from, "*culture, society, and its institutions*", as well as personality (Rokeach, 1973: 3). Similarly, in Grunert et al's (1989) cross-cultural research on consumer values, they assume that values are, "*to some extent, shared by people within a culture*" and so can "*be used to characterize the psychological similarities within, and differences across, cultures.*" (Grunert et al, 1989). Grunert describes values as, "*both self-centred and social - centred in the sense that they are at the crossroads between the individual and the society*" (Grunert, 1990: 545). Grunert, Grunert & Kristensen offer a cognitive definition of culture: "*Culture is expressed in collectively shared cognitive structures which direct behavior mainly via automatic cognitive processes.*" (Grunert, Grunert & Kristensen, 1992:90). Shared language, for example, would be part of a shared cognitive structure.

In Munson & McIntyre's (1978) cross-cultural assessment of personal values, they found that Rokeachian values could successfully discriminate consumers from three culturally diverse groups, as well as distinguish between the stereotypes each culture held of the average American consumer (Munson & McIntyre, 1978). Similarly, Valette-Florence et al (1991) compared the personal values of students and parents in France and Germany, using Kahle's LOV (1986), and found interesting differences that appear to be culturally determined.

For the German respondents, social values were found to have greater importance, while, in France, there was stronger evidence of hedonistic and individual values (Valette-Florence et al, 1991).

Beatty et al (1992; cited in Rose, 1997) also used Kahle's LOV (1986), this time to examine values across generations in six countries. Their results echo some of Valette-Florence et al's (1991) findings: "*although culture had a strong influence on the values of both parents and students, some inter-generational differences were found. Parents placed a greater emphasis on security and accomplishment, while students were more hedonistic*" (Rose, 1997:395). It will be interesting to see how similar or different the values of the young Spanish and English girls are, in this author's research. Not all research using Kahle's LOV (1986), however, has been considered successful. Grunert et al's (1992) study into the validity of the LOV concluded that this validity was "*ambiguous*" (Grunert et al, 1992:98), due to some unexpected results when comparing four U.S. samples.

Other researchers have used Rokeach's Value Survey to examine cross-cultural similarities and differences. Powell and Valencia (cited in Pitts & Woodside, 1984) for example, examined Hispanic sub-cultural and regional value orientations using this tool. They found significant differences between Anglos and Hispanics for fourteen out of the eighteen value dimensions.

Hofstede (1983) took research into cross-cultural values orientations to a new level of detail. He examined the work-related value patterns of matched samples of industrial employees in 50 countries and three regions, at two points in time. Different country responses were plotted according to four dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, and masculinity versus femininity. He concluded that there are fundamental differences in the way people in different countries perceive and interpret their world (Hofstede, 1983). The UK and Spain emerge with quite different scores, a point of interest for the author's research: the UK scores highly on masculinity, extremely highly on individualism, and low on power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Spain, in contrast, ranks extremely highly on uncertainty avoidance,

has a relatively low masculinity score, and fairly high scores for individualism and power distance (Hofstede, 1983, cited in Usunier, 1993:76).

Schwartz's (1994) attempts to define a theory of the universal content and structure of values, provides a useful framework for interpreting cross-cultural values. He finds support for the "*near universality*" of what he describes as, "*the four higher order value types*" [openness to change, self-transcendence, conservation and self-enhancement] (Schwartz, 1994:42). Similarly, Whitely & England's (1980) work with managers identifies twelve common dimensions of values in five countries.

Following the micro approach, authors have taken distinct product categories and assessed the differences in values being satisfied for different country groupings, e.g. fine fragrances and trainers in Germany and the UK (Baker & Knox, 1994); cars, for English speaking North Americans and Hispanics (Kara, Laskey & Seaton, 1993); perfume purchasers in France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland (Valette-Florence & Rapacchi, 1991); cross-cultural similarities and differences in shopping for food (Brunso & Grunert, 1998); fish consumption in Denmark and France (Valette-Florence et al, 1999). In Kara et al's (1993) research, for instance, quite different hierarchical values maps were developed for Anglos and Hispanics: 'inner harmony' and 'sense of accomplishment' were found to be more important for Anglo respondents, while 'happiness' and 'a comfortable life' were more important for Hispanics. Values, then, do appear to vary by geography, as well as by age, education, income, and other demographic factors.

It will be interesting to see, then, whether our findings support those from other means-end chain studies, which assert that values appear to vary according to geographic culture. We will assess any evidence of collectively shared cognitive structures (Grunert, Grunert & Kristensen, 1992). It will also be interesting to note whether our findings allow us to find support for any of the dimensions proposed using a macro approach to cross-cultural values research. For example, do the respondents appear to show a collectivist or an individualist orientation

(Hofstede, 1983), and are there any differences, in this respect, between the Spanish and British respondents?

Clearly, researchers must take extreme care to ensure the equivalence of data in cross-cultural work. The meanings of words must be translated and back-translated, so that any comparisons made across countries are relevant (Baker & Knox, 1994). Attention should also be paid to the comparability of the sample used in each country, and extra time should be built in for data analysis (Grunert, 1990). All of these points have been taken into consideration in the author's study.

3.1.6 Use of the Means-End Chain Approach with Children

In spite of an increasing body of research using the means end chain approach, there is very limited evidence of the use of this technique in academic marketing studies with children. Patricia Kennedy (1990 & 1995) appears to be the only academic author who has used the means-end chain approach with children in a marketing context. In the psychology literature, some aspects of personal construct theory have been explored with children using repertory grid methods (Ravenette, 1964, 1977 and 1996; Salmon, 1967 and 1976; Glenny, 1996). These studies carry out fascinating psychological investigations with children – often those who present problems to others. It is Kennedy's work, however, that remains most pertinent to the author's research.

Kennedy (1990) used the laddering technique with 9-10 and 13-14 year olds. Her objective was to assess consumer values as information input at various levels of cognitive development, and to consider the implications of these results for advertising. Kennedy concludes that the children in the younger age group [in Piaget's pre-concrete or concrete levels of cognitive development (Piaget, 1961)], do not make the connections necessary to go from product attributes to values. These individuals would not, therefore, view products as a means of fulfilling

values (Kennedy, 1990). These findings have been taken into consideration in the choice of the author's proposed research sample.

Kennedy (1995) also highlights the List of Values (Kahle et al, 1986) as a useful value measurement instrument for children as, "*it is possible to explore a few core values that are relevant to a child's life such as fun and enjoyment, sense of belonging, and sense of accomplishment.*" (Kennedy, 1995). The author's findings will reveal whether these are, indeed, among the values to emerge from use of the laddering technique with children, in her particular study.

3.1.7 Brands and Consumers' Values

A huge amount of academic literature concentrates on the subject of brands and branding. Although branding is not the main focus of the author's research, an examination of certain aspects of the literature will prove useful. In a later section [3.2] we will discuss the broader area of international brand marketing to children. The other aspect of brands that is pertinent to the author's research is the way they relate to consumers' values. This is the subject to which we will now turn our attention, along with considering any implications the branding literature has for our study.

Brands are more than, "*a name, term, sign, symbol, design [...] used to identify the goods or services of one seller [...] and to differentiate them from those of competitors.*" (Kotler et al, 1996). Strong product brands have different levels of meaning for consumers, appealing through a combination of functional and emotional value propositions, which are consistent, but evolve over time (King, 1991). Kotler et al (1996) describe four levels of meaning that product brands can deliver: attributes, benefits, values and personality. Given that a brand says something about the buyer's values, marketers attempt to identify the consumers whose values coincide with the brand's delivered benefit package. This thinking links closely with means-end theory. Use of the latter model will, therefore, add

to our understanding of product brands and how they tap into and satisfy young consumers' values.

For a brand to be successful in the long term, brand owners need to ensure that their brand's positioning is relevant and appealing to its target audience. Yeshin defines positioning as, *"identifying the place in the market or the mind of the consumer which the company or product wishes to occupy"* (Yeshin, 1996). The author's research will help reveal the perceived positioning of different brands by identifying salient attributes, and the resulting consequences and values satisfied for the consumer. Brand owners must also ensure that they have segmented the market in a way that reflects the needs, attitudes and values of their target group, in relation to their brands. The author's research will provide information that could be useful in segmenting these young consumers, based on their responses in the in-depth interviews.

Hanby (1999) discusses brands in terms of the changing metaphors that have been applied to them over the past forty years or so. He describes how the classic view of the brand as an inert, physical object which can be broken down into its constituent parts [product, name, pack, price etc.], and manipulated by its brand owner, has given way to a more holistic view (Hanby, 1999:8-10).

The new view regards brands as, *"holistic entities with many of the characteristics of living beings"* (Hanby, 1999:10). It is, perhaps, Kapferer (1992; 1997) who has taken this view furthest in his concept of brand identity. He describes six integrated facets of physique, personality, relationship, culture, reflection and self-image. Hanby goes on to say that the, *"'root' metaphor used to describe brands has changed from brand as lifeless manipulable artefact [...] to brand as living entity [with a personality with which we can form a relationship and that can change and evolve over time]"* (Hanby, 1999:12).

De Chernatony and McDonald (1992) share this view of the importance of a brand's personality: *"The result of good branding is a perception of a product, or*

service, interpreted and believed so clearly by the customer, that the brand adopts a personality." (De Chernatony & McDonald, 1992). Hanby's view that one can form a relationship with brands is also put forward by Fournier (1996), who asserts, *"Relationships with mass brands can soothe the 'empty selves' left behind by society's abandonment of tradition and community and provide stable anchors in an otherwise changing world. The formation and maintenance of brand-product relationships serve many culturally supported roles within post-modern society."* (Fournier, 1996). If we accept the view that people can form potentially long-term relationships with brands, it makes sense to suggest that a person would feel more affinity with a brand whose values match his or her own values – just as would be the case in a relationship with another person. It is crucial, then, to understand what consumers' personal values are, in order for brand owners to attempt to find ways of reflecting desirable values back into the brands they develop.

Hanby (1999) also suggests that given this new, holistic view of brands, it is case studies and other open-ended qualitative techniques that will supply the most appropriate investigative methodologies for researching the subject of brands. One can argue that, *"only qualitative methods allow sufficient depth and breadth to allow the complexities of consumer thought and behaviour to be studied in any meaningful way."* (Hanby, 1999:12). Evans et al (2002) echo the view that qualitative research is increasing in importance: *"Data might provide information on what is bought by whom and when, but it cannot necessarily explain that behaviour."* (Evans et al, 2002:582). This view is very much in keeping with that of the author, whose research will follow a qualitative, in-depth interviewing approach.

With this view of brands as living entities, then, with their own personalities (Aaker, 1997) and inner essence (Hanby & Cooper, 1990; Arnold, 1992), brand owners are attempting, not just to sell their brands, but to find people who want to have a relationship with their brands. Brands are not, then, inert objects that can be manipulated and manoeuvred by brand owners at will. They are, rather,

"living things co-created by customers and organisations." (Baker & Mouncey, 2003:6). Cooper (1999) asserts that, *"Instead of being consumer-driven, marketing will adopt a more balanced relationship-driven approach. Consumers are more and more marketing literate and aware of marketing devices. Institutions are less trusted. Consumers are looking for more transparency from marketing and more quality in their individual lives."* (Cooper, 1999:4).

The need to understand consumers' inner essence and personal values, to understand what is important to them and what motivates them, surely, then, takes on the utmost importance. The author's research into young consumers' personal values and how these values relate to the brands they choose should, therefore, provide 'food for thought' for marketers developing brands in the relevant product categories. Let us move on now, then, to examine what the existing literature can tell us regarding the personal values that are important to children.

3.1.8 Children's Values

Children's values form and change as they develop. Thomson and Woodham conclude from their multi-country kids' study that, *"compared with adults, teen values are generally less coherent and consistent than those of adults; that is because teens themselves are still very much developing and formulating their life beliefs"* (Thomson & Woodham, 1997:226). Crosby, Gill and Lee's research into life status and age as predictors of value orientation (cited in Pitts & Woodside, 1984) find support for the hypothesis that significant differences exist in consumer values across age groups. They find a general tendency, for instance, of people moving from liberal to more conservative views with ageing.

Parents' values and the social environment during childhood are key in the formation of a child's values (McNeal, 1992; Inglehart, 1996). Research has also highlighted a few core values that are relevant to a child's life: fun and enjoyment, sense of belonging, and a sense of accomplishment (Kennedy, 1995:48) [research carried out with 9-10 year olds and 13-14 year olds]. Kennedy comments on the immediacy of these three values as one reason for their relevance to children: *"a young person can have fun, belong to a group, and accomplish some goal right*

now" (Kennedy, 1995:50). It will be interesting to note how far the author's findings agree with those of Kennedy. In a similar vein, McNeal (1992) describes the need for achievement and affiliation among 10-12 year olds, while other research highlights the growing need for some degree of separation from the family (Bielli, Brembati & Piccone, 1997).

These 10-12 year olds develop a stronger sense of identity, but also have a strong need to identify with others and be similar to their peer group (Bielli et al, 1997). Girls' friendships deepen, with much secret sharing of problems with the 'best friend', while boys continue with wider, group friendships (Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997). Privacy becomes a key need, with the bedroom emerging as a place of crucial importance. The bedroom gives the child private space, and objects and decor allow the child to express his or her identity. Possessions, in general, become important to express identity and aspirations [see section 3.4], and also provide a link with achieving security (Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997). Overall, at this age, there is a tension between the child's needs for independence and freedom, and their need for structure, limits and security (Guber & Berry, 1993).

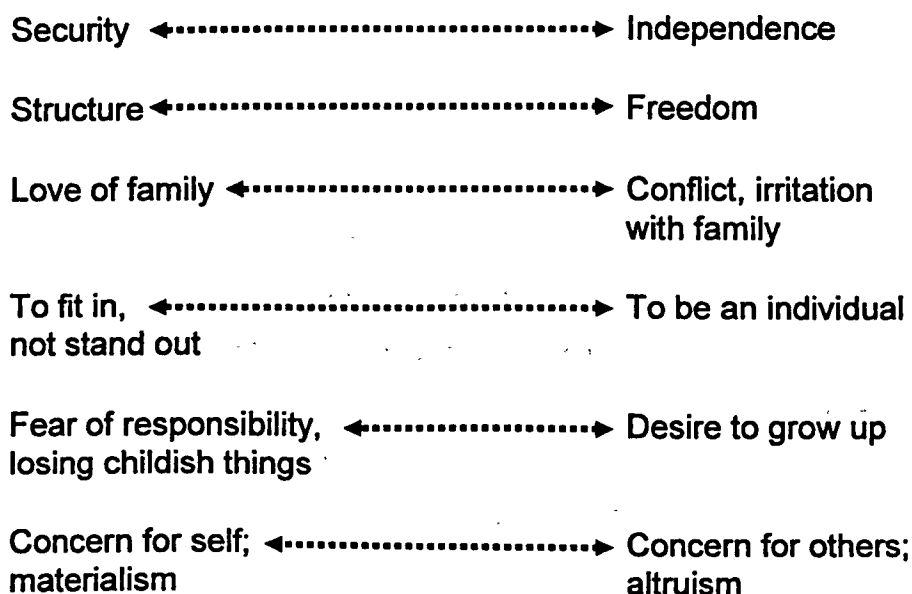
10-12 year olds' values are still quite materialistic, although with signs of altruism, particularly among girls. Older children agree less with the statement: *"people are much happier when they can buy lots of things"* (Kapferer, 1985). When asked what they would do if they won the lottery, many children [especially girls] said they would like to give some money to charity (Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997). When asked what they would do if they could change the world, there is some concern for global issues and the environment, showing evidence of more abstract thinking [ibid]. Concern for animals increases [particularly girls] (Cox, 1997; Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997). Family values run deep, with most children saying that their family is the most important thing to them (Guber & Berry, 1993).

This age group tends to be optimistic about life. Aspirations expressed by 10-12 year olds demonstrate a mixture of materialism and altruism, a desire to enjoy life

and to find independence: to drive a car; to become professional footballers [boys]; to find a job they enjoy, that pays well; to help animals and/or people [especially girls] (Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997).

Overall, a number of tensions are clear when assessing the needs and values of 10-12 year olds, as illustrated below:

Figure 5: Needs and Values of 10-12 Year Olds



The above points all serve to increase our understanding of the age group that will comprise the author's research sample. It will be interesting to see whether the needs and values described in this section emerge as important in the author's findings. We have not yet considered, however, any cross-cultural differences that may exist in children's values. Let us now move on to examine the literature relating to this subject.

3.1.9 Cross-Cultural Differences in Children's Values

Many general points have been made about values in the preceding discussion, but a key issue for the author's research is the extent to which children's values vary from one geographic culture to another. According to Thomson and

Woodham, who carried out a kids' study in 1996, in the USA, UK, France, Germany, Japan and China, *"to a large extent children in very different cultures do indeed share common dreams and aspirations - but [...] they are not identical. The emphasis placed by children themselves upon getting a good education varies somewhat, for example. Conversely, children and teenagers in some countries are inspired by dreams of being sports or pop stars almost to the complete exclusion of more attainable goals, and we have observed how at the extreme this can even negate the effort put into studying at school or college."* Similarly, *"the degree to which teens still wish to be seen to respect their parents, and are driven by such values as obedience and duty is not the same in Europe as it is in Asia."* (Thomson & Woodham, 1997: 226). Geographic culture is clearly, then, a factor that should not be ignored.

A recent report by market research agency Roper ASW Europe (2003) also highlights cross-cultural differences in values, in spite of the emergence of a 'global teen culture': *"We were surprised that teens tended to have the same fundamental values as their parents rather than other people of the same age around the world. 'Global teen culture' is a superficial expression where everyone drinks Coke and wears Nike trainers, but deep down, teens have very different values that depend more on their background than their age."* (Brand Strategy, 2003:37). The researchers did find, however, that most of the 13-14 year olds they interviewed in the USA, Western Europe, and some parts of developed Asia, shared common values of a desire for individuality, fun, and friendship (Brand Strategy, 2003:37).

Garitaonandia et al's (1998) research into the values of 6-15 year old Spanish children provides an interesting counterpoint to the pan-European, international, UK and US research into children's values described in section 3.1.8 (Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997; Guber & Berry, 1993; Kapferer, 1985; Cox, 1997). In-depth interviews were carried out with the younger children, as well as with parents and teachers; group discussions were held with the older children. Although the values and aspirations described are very similar, the materialism and pragmatism

reported in this research is more extreme than that found by, for instance, Donnenfeld and Goodhand (1997) among British children.

Role models for these Spanish children are models, singers, actors and actresses. They value well-paid, high status professions such as law, as well as, for example, astronauts and archaeologists. They show little interest in the caring professions, and even less in skilled manual work [e.g. carpenters, plumbers] or in technical or social careers that pay little (Garitaonandia et al, 1998). There is strong evidence of consumerism, and these children are driven by the desire for economic and social success. Although teachers and parents talk about more desirable attitudes such as pacifism and tolerance, these values do not come out clearly in discussion with the children themselves; a strong materialism is emerging to the detriment of more spiritual values. When questioned about the benefits of technology, however, children clearly value their relationships with others and friendships, more than technology (ibid.).

When asked to draw their future home, most children drew luxurious images showing lots of 'high-tech' equipment, swimming pools, garages and gardens. Overall, their view of the world was fairly pessimistic, as they imagine a sad world with more violence and less communication between people (Garitaonandia et al, 1998). This is in contrast to Donnenfeld and Goodhand's (1997) photo research with British children who display a good deal of optimism.

Of course, two pieces of qualitative research carried out with different samples within *the same* country can come out with quite different results, due to differences in methodology, approach, timing and so on. We should not, therefore, overstate the significance of differences found between British and Spanish children's view of the world. However, we can make some tentative suggestions based on these differences: it is possible that the explosion of consumerism in Spain in the 1980s and 1990s, following the austere years of General Franco, has had an impact on Spanish children's values, making their materialism a little more extreme. The UK, in contrast, has seen a gradually

developing consumerism since the 1950s. All the potential differences in children's values, caused by the distinct consumer environment of each country, provide a fascinating context for the author's research.

It is useful to include a brief examination of the moral development of the child in any discussion on the existence of values in children, given that the two subjects are closely related. Kohlberg (1981) has written extensively on the subject of moral values. His writings are particularly relevant to a discussion on cross-cultural differences in children's values, as he argues that human beings, in general, share the same basic moral values, and children take the same steps towards moral maturity, regardless of culture.

Although the social environment might give rise to different beliefs [for example, smoking is wrong; eating pork is wrong], the same moral principles will be found everywhere [for example, "consider the welfare of others"; "treat all people equally"]. Kohlberg (1981) argues that where values differ, it is because we are at different stages of moral maturity. He has defined six stages of moral development, and the stage of relevance to the author's research is what he describes as the Conventional Level [from approximately 10-16 years of age]. This stage is characterised by conformity to 'good' behaviour, doing one's duty and respect for authority (Kohlberg, 1981:18). Some children may move through this Conventional Level more quickly than others but, according to Kohlberg's theory, it is likely that the children interviewed in the author's research will share this conventional orientation.

Kohlberg (1981) believes that values emerge from within, as an essential part of human nature. This provides a contrast to some of our previous discussion of values where these have been seen to emerge from external, socialising forces, culture, and parental attitudes. The author believes that both the internal workings of human nature and the external environment have their role to play in the formation of values. Although there is likely to be significant diversity in specific values and attitudes among children, which will be partly driven by their cultural, family and social environment, Kohlberg provides us with a broad set of basic

moral principles common to all [at least in the Western, industrialised world!]. His work suggests there is an underlying moral orientation shared by humanity in general, and towards which children gradually progress. These insights provide added richness to our picture of the child's emerging value system, and will be useful to bear in mind when interviewing children to elicit values satisfied by brands, as well as when analysing their responses. Having now explored the personal values literature from many different angles, it will be useful to move on and examine the literature relating to another area that is relevant to the author's study: international brand marketing to children.

3.2 International Brand Marketing to Children

The proliferation of brands all around us, many of which are targeted at children or families, mean that brands have become an important stimulus in a child's daily life. Seiter talks of consumer culture intervening in the parent-child relationship as early as two years of age (Seiter, 1992), while results from US research show that, by the age of three years, many children already recognise brands, even for adult products, and understand what these brands are (Wyckham & Collins Dodd, 1997). This means that by the time children reach eleven or twelve years of age, they are extremely brand literate.

In recent years many international brands for children have emerged, as more and more companies seek to internationalise the sales of their products (Kapferer, 1998). Levi's, Benetton, Nike, Swatch and Calvin Klein are just a few of the fashion brands targeted at an international youth segment, on the basis that in the industrialised world of MTV, fast food and global communications, young consumers' needs and wants are broadly similar regardless of geography. According to a recent report in Brand Strategy (2003), *"there is definitely a coherent global teen market. That's why kids in a slum in Sao Paolo aspire to wear Nike as much as kids in Los Angeles, Sydney, Delhi, Manchester or even Baghdad"* (Brand Strategy, 2003:37). But pre-teenage children also aspire to an increasingly sophisticated range of brands: *"Who is the target audience of Gucci,*

Sony, Nokia, DKNY and Mitsubishi? If you happen to include 8-12 year olds in your description, you are on track" (Lindstrom, 2003). In addition, branded sportswear is generating a huge amount of playground envy (Hogg et al., 1998). Interestingly, many children choose the same brands as their parents when asked to rate their favourites: Sony, Microsoft, BMW, Discovery Channel, Mercedes, Disney and Coca-Cola are all listed by both parents and their children as the best global brands (Brand Strategy, 2003:38).

So how do marketers target children with their branded offerings? One advertising executive states, *"It isn't enough to just advertise on television... You've got to reach kids through the day – in school, as they're shopping, in the mall... or at the movies. You've got to become part of the fabric of their lives."* (Kraak & Pelletier, 1998:31). It is this highly aggressive approach that concerns many parents, and leaves them feeling rather bemused by the array of marketing tactics directed at their off-spring. As one journalist says, *"Marketers are grooming our children to buy their products. I may see a picture of a monkey stencilled on a wall and assume that it's the work of a kid with an aerosol can [...] My 12 year old daughter immediately recognises it as an advert for clothing"* (The Independent, 2003:12).

The role of traditional television advertising to children has changed. According to Lindstrom (2004), *"today's tweens no longer expect to be informed by traditional media. The purpose of television commercials is no longer to communicate product details to tweens. Today they simply aim to inspire. Once the inspiration has kicked in, then ideally the brand will become interactive, as there will be other channels that will do the informing."* (Lindstrom, 2004:5). Children now relate to brands that they see 'placed' in their favourite television programmes or movies. Lindstrom goes on to say, *"product placement is the largest and most influential form of endorsement influencing tween brands."* (Lindstrom, 2004:6)

As well as using various forms of media, more and more, advertisers are using children themselves, in order to reach children: “[...] *they recruit them as consultants to advise corporations on what’s hip and what’s not. Teens are happy to work for companies [...] if it means they get free concert tickets, caps or CDs.*” (The Independent, 2003: 12).

According to recent Keynote Research (2003), adults are not unduly concerned by advertising to children; they are, however, extremely worried by the amount of peer pressure exerted on children to own certain brands: “*71% of all adults believe that kids are under too much pressure to possess the right brands so that they fit in with other children.*” (Keynote Research, Brand Strategy, 2003:37). The Independent Television Commission [ITC] attempts to address this issue of peer pressure in one of its advertising guidelines: “*No advertisement may lead children to believe that if they do not have or use the product or service advertised, they will be inferior in some way to other children, or liable to be held in contempt or ridicule.*” (Preston, 2000: 117).

However, it is clear that many advertisements do link products to popularity in the minds of children. One respondent, having watched an advert for Sunny Delight, says, “*The adverts [...] showed that if you had this in your lunchbox you would have everyone wanting to sit next to you.*” (Preston, 2000: 129). Similarly, research with 8-14 year olds leads the authors to conclude that, “*kids this age desperately need to belong; they believe that having the right ‘stuff’ is the quickest route to acceptance.*” (Kantrowitz & Wingert, 1999, cited in Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003: 205) [see section 3.4 for more details on the role brands play in children’s lives].

It is of particular relevance to the author’s research that, by 11-12 years of age, children have gained an understanding of the symbolic meaning of brands. They use brand names as an important conceptual cue when making judgments about consumers (Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003: 205). When considering K-Mart jeans [i.e. a value brand rather than a prestige brand], the

majority of 8 year olds [61%] evaluated the owners of these jeans favourably; in contrast, only 26% of 12 year olds did so (Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003:215). The authors conclude that, *"By the time children reach 11 or 12 years of age, they are [...] decoding consumption symbols based on brand names, forming impressions of product owners based on the image and meanings of the brand name identified with the product."* (Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003:217) .

It appears, then, that children quickly learn to decode the symbolic meanings of brands. But what of their intellectual ability to decode the intent of advertising directed at them? It is children's intellectual limitations that raise concerns among some adults regarding the ethics of marketing to them as a target segment. A discussion on ethics is outside the scope of this PhD thesis. Suffice it to say that lay people often see children as vulnerable members of society who need protecting from messages they do not understand. Marketing practitioners, on the other hand, argue that marketing and advertising set up the process of choosing, build a dialogue between children and adults, and encourage careful buying habits (Schneider, 1987).

Much research in this area focuses on whether or not children have the cognitive ability to understand the persuasive intent of advertising (Robertson & Rossiter, 1974; Ward et al, 1977; Donohue et al, 1980; Sutton-Smith, 1986; Macklin, 1987; Kunkel & Roberts, 1991; Wilson & Weiss, 1992; Smith, 1997). Most studies conclude that an understanding of persuasive intent is almost universally operative by the time children reach approximately 10 years of age, while many studies assert that this is true at a much younger age (Smith, 1997; Bandyopadhyay et al, 2001). In terms of relevance to the author's research, then, there is little risk that the 11-12 year olds selected for the study will have difficulty understanding the concept of brand marketing directed at them.

The primary reason that advertisers want to target children with brand messages is that they have ever increasing influence on purchase decisions within the family.

According to a recent report, *“In households with children aged between 8 and 12, nearly 80% of all products purchased are influenced by the tastes and desires of those children; [...] when it comes to mobile phones, clothing, snacks, music, entertainment and electronic goods, children exercise as much as 90% control over their family’s purchasing decision. Over the next ten years, children will be as influential as their parents for choosing the brand to buy.”* (Lindstrom, 2003:34). Guber & Berry’s (1993) research has similar findings: 78% of 6-14 year olds exert ‘some’ to ‘a lot’ of influence over choice of breakfast cereal. Two out of three children in this age group were found to have influenced major family purchase decisions [e.g. stereos, computers, holidays, even cars] in the past year (Guber & Berry, 1993). Lee & Beatty’s (2002) research into family structure and influence in family decision-making, also finds that adolescents are important players in family purchase decisions. Interestingly, the degree of influence is, *“found to be dependent on their families’ sex-role orientation and their mothers’ occupational status.”* [i.e. whether the family is ‘traditional’ or ‘modern’] (Lee & Beatty, 2002:24).

Children, then, in the author’s chosen age group [11-12 years] are extremely brand literate and highly influential when it comes to family purchase decisions. By this age, their socialization as consumers is already advanced. How has this socialization occurred, and who or what are the key influencers on the process of socialization in children? This is the subject to which we will now turn.

3.3 Consumer Socialization

3.3.1 The Process of Socialization and the Development of Consumer Behaviour

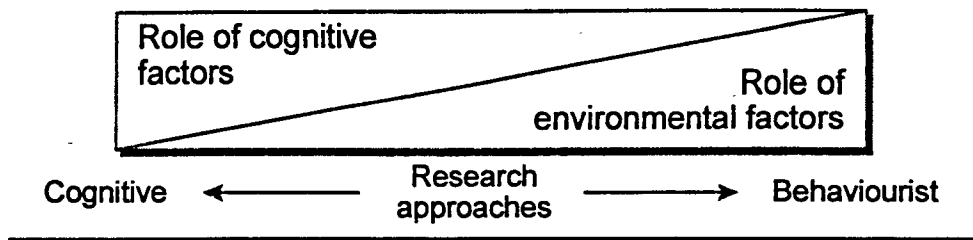
Given that, in the author’s study, we will be exploring the link between young consumers’ personal values and the brands that they choose, it is important to understand how consumer behaviour develops in children, and the process of socialization that they go through. An exploration of this area will help us to

appreciate what 11-12 year olds' understanding of brands is, and how advanced their skills as consumers are. Consumption behaviour is very much linked to the processes of socialization, and is a subject that many academics are currently researching. For example, the Economic and Social Research Council [ESRC] is launching a £4 million initiative to provide funding for research that will contribute to our knowledge of a range of aspects of consumption, through their Cultures of Consumption Programme [2004].

Ward (1974) defined consumer socialization as the, "*process by which young people acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their effective functioning as consumers*" (cited in Page & Ridgway, 2001:23). The nature of this process will vary depending on the direct experiences children undergo as individuals, and their opportunity to observe and participate in purchase decisions. Wyckham and Collins-Dodd comment that children of the same age may have very different cognitive and consumer skills as a result of their experience (Wyckham & Collins-Dodd, 1997). Roedder John and Whitney (1986) examine the development of consumer socialisation taking a cognitive structure approach. They believe that environmental variables such as family, peers and mass media affect children's development of consumer knowledge by influencing the type, amount and quality of consumer experience and information available to children. School and authority figures will also play an important role. In addition, though, age-related cognitive abilities affect knowledge acquisition by influencing the way children interpret and organise the consumer experiences and information they accumulate over time.

In terms of research approaches, the behaviourists give more importance to the role of environmental factors in the development of consumer behaviour, while the cognitivists focus on the role of cognitive factors [see diagram below].

Figure 6: Research Approaches to Consumer Behaviour



Source: Baker, 1994

This author shares the view of Roedder John & Whitney that all of these factors together shape the rate at which children acquire the knowledge and skills involved in the socialisation process (Roedder John & Whitney, 1986). Socio-economic group and gender may also affect brand preferences (Moschis and Moore, 1979).

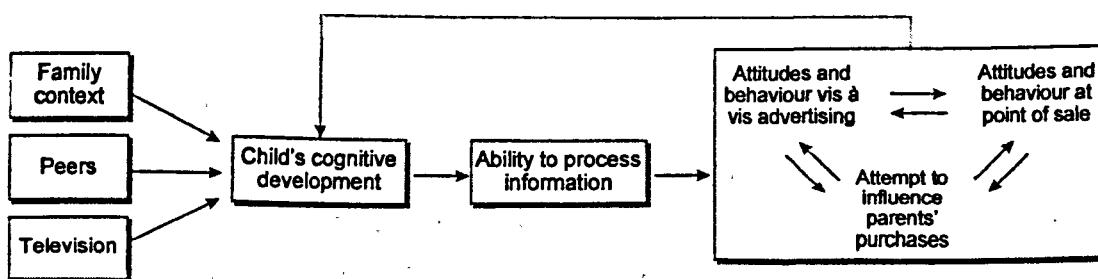
Taking a cognitivist approach, Roedder John's recent (1999) research presents a useful conceptual framework for understanding consumer socialization as a series of stages. She describes transitions between stages occurring as children grow older and mature in cognitive and social terms (Roedder John, 1999:183). Roedder John (1999) first describes the different stages of social perspective taking developed by Selman (1980). The stage of most relevance to the author's research is the stage of mutual role taking (10-12 years). At this stage, the child has developed the ability, *"to simultaneously consider another person's viewpoint as the same time as one's own"* (Roedder John, 1999:185). At around this age, a child also becomes able to make psychological comparisons based on psychological or abstract attributes, for example, recognising that one person is more outgoing than another (Roedder John, 1999:186). A much more adult perspective is, thus, developing.

Roedder John outlines three stages of consumer socialization: the perceptual stage [3-7 years], the analytical stage [7-11 years], and the reflective stage [11-16 years] (Roedder John, 1999:186). The girls selected for the author's research study [11-

12 year olds] are, therefore, just entering the reflective stage; a stage characterised by a shift towards more abstract thinking, the ability to deal with more complex representations, and a growing social awareness. At this age, children can focus on underlying features as well as salient ones, and have a fully developed ability to adapt strategies to different tasks and situations. Their knowledge of branding and pricing is highly developed and complex, as they develop more sophisticated information processing and social skills, and more reflective ways of thinking and reasoning (Roedder John, 1999:187). They focus more on the social aspects of being a consumer, making choices, and consuming brands, with attempts to influence parents and friends becoming more strategic and complex (ibid:187). These points all help to justify the author's selection of this age group as an appropriate one [see section 5 for further justification].

In Joel Brée's (1990) synthesis of research into children and consumption, he identifies three core influences on a child's consumer behaviour, that we have already mentioned: family context, television and peers. According to Brée, these three influences have an impact on a child's cognitive development, which, in turn, affects his or her ability to process information, which then affects the child's consumer behaviour patterns.

Figure 7: Process of Socialization and Development of Consumer Behaviour



Source: Joel Brée, 1990

Much recent literature describes a speeding up of the process of consumer socialization, as children 'get older younger' [KGOY: kids getting older younger]:

"We are seeing a growing culture of independence amongst today's youth and [...] a new generation of independent, sophisticated and ultra-modern consumers." (Bond, 2003:36). Recent research points to a decline in parental influence and an increase in peer and media influence between the ages of 8 and 12 years: *"Leaving the internet and mobile phones to one side, the two main influences are friends and television."* (Smallshaw, 2001:24). Another influence highlighted by many researchers is that of stores and shopping environments (McNeal, 1992; Seiter, 1992). Let us look in turn, then, at each of these four influences on consumer socialization: family, media, peers and stores. We will also consider the influence of authority figures as part of our discussion on peer influence.

3.3.2 Family Influence

The family is a clear source of know-how as children learn to take their place in the social world. Ward et al (1977) talk of three categories of knowledge that parents can pass on to their children to help them become consumers: an understanding of the importance of money and budgeting; an understanding of the price/quality relationship; an understanding of the dynamic process of consumption [e.g. how to look at advertising, how to choose the most appropriate shop]. Ward's research suggests that parents do not show an active concern for their children's consumer behaviour until the age of eleven to twelve years (Ward et al, 1977). Other research suggests that children are becoming independent consumers at a younger age in many countries (McNeal, 1992; Bond, 2003).

It would seem reasonable to assume that if parents are 'teaching' their children about price/quality relationships, that this is something young adolescents will use in their purchase decisions. However, research suggests that parents exert a relatively low influence at the product evaluation stage (Moschis & Moore, 1979). The findings, based on self-administered questionnaires, indicate that young adolescents tend to rely more on personal sources for information on high value products, and on mass media for information on low risk products.

James U. McNeal's conclusions from research (1992) focus more on children learning through their own initiatives, in interaction with their parents, rather than on parents actively teaching consumer behaviour. He suggests that children go through five developmental steps (McNeal, 1992):

1. Accompanying parents to stores and observing.
2. Accompanying parents and requesting.
3. Accompanying parents and selecting with permission.
4. Accompanying parents and making independent purchases.
5. Going to the store alone and making independent purchases.

Carlson et al (2001) describe the role of parents in children's socialization as one of guidance as well as control: *"parents may influence children by serving as examples, nurturing parent-child relationships, conveying values, and directly controlling children's behaviors."* (Carlson et al, 2001:277). Carlson et al's research highlights the importance of parental styles in determining how mothers socialize their children (Carlson et al, 2001:276). These findings are echoed by Rose et al (2002) who describe differences in the ways 'authoritative', 'authoritarian' and 'permissive' parents socialize their offspring (Rose et al, 2002:65).

Other recent research presents a picture of parents giving an increasing amount of consumer responsibility to their offspring from an earlier age (Bond, 2003). Bond talks of, *"a greater distance between parents and their children. Parents are increasingly abdicating responsibility for a number of key decisions [...]. Children used to be largely dependent on their parents to guide and fund their purchases. Now, however, kids hold an increasingly strong power of veto on items like mobile phones, clothes and food. In fact, many children receive large allowances and are left to buy everything themselves."* (Bond, 2003:36).

Parents, then, vary in the extent to which they control and guide the process of consumer socialization in their children. Some encourage earlier independence

than others, but, through the example they set, all, nonetheless, play a key role in influencing how their children develop as consumers.

3.3.3 Media Influence

In Ellen Seiter's case study on Toys R Us (1992), she highlights the fact that mass-media targeted at children has shortened the period of exclusively parental influence over children, and that consumer culture intervenes in the parent-child relationship as early as two years of age (Seiter, 1992). Television is the most obvious media influence on children's development as consumers. In Moschis and Moore's research into decision-making among the young (1979), they find some support for their hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the amount of television viewing and the extent to which an adolescent has brand preferences (although the findings are not statistically significant). Wyckham and Collins-Dodd (1997) also find a correlation between brand recognition and commercial television viewing.

Understanding the degree to which advertising and promotion of food products has an effect on children's food choices and behaviour is of particular relevance to the author's study, given that half her interviews will focus on snacks brands. In September 2003, the Food Standards Agency published an independent, peer-reviewed research project entitled: 'Does Food Promotion Influence Children? A Systematic Review of the Evidence'. This research concluded that, "*advertising affects children's food choices and purchasing behaviour – both in terms of the brands they buy and the types of food they choose.*" (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). The link between food choice and advertising and promotion is supported by the finding that, "*labels and signs on a vending machine had an effect on what children bought while another [study] showed that advertising influenced what they chose as their playtime snack.*" (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). The media appears, then, to play an influential role in helping define children's eating habits.

Roedder John (1999) highlights the social importance of television advertising, describing it as a device that enhances peer group interaction: it serves, "*as a focus of conversations with peers, a means of belonging and group membership, and a conduit for transferring and conveying meaning in their daily lives.*" (Roedder John, 1999:192). Its role goes far beyond, then, simply persuading children to buy or request goods, becoming a part of the fabric of their daily conversations.

Brée highlights the importance of television and cinema in children's consumer development, but also stresses that other types of media play an important role: books, for instance, for girls, and magazines for boys (Brée, 1990). McNeal takes this point further, insisting on the importance of a proliferation of media in today's consumer society; not just TV advertising but stores, catalogues, advertising on rental videos, product placements in movies, product samples and direct mail (McNeal, 1992). To this list, we can now add mobile phones and the internet (Smallshaw, 2001). This view that a broad range of media is influential, rather than solely television, is further supported by recent research which shows that traditional television viewing is declining among children in Europe, particularly in the UK and France. Across Europe as a whole, children are watching two hours television per day versus their parents' three hours. Also, children's programming is in decline in the UK and France, and static in Spain (Fraser, 1998). Undeniably, however, it remains an important medium.

We have seen, then, that television viewing appears to increase brand recognition, and may increase the extent to which brand preferences develop among children. Television, advertising, catalogues and direct mail are all an integral part of children's daily lives, while mobile telephones and the internet are increasing in importance all the time. This means that the media is a constant influence on children, sometimes in the background, sometimes in the foreground, but rarely absent. It provides conversation with friends, and can shape their attitudes, their likes and dislikes. This awareness of the media as a key influencing force clearly adds to our understanding of young consumers - a selection of whom the author

will interview in her study. Let us move on now to discuss children's peer groups; another key influence on consumer socialization.

3.3.4 Peer Influence

A child's peer group is widely viewed as a strong influence on his or her development as a consumer. Brée (1990) talks of the importance of peer approval from the age of around seven or eight years, when it brings the child security. There is a strong desire to conform, not to be different, so that the child has a sense that his or her values are shared by others. According to social identity theory, *"individuals identify themselves partly in terms of group memberships or associations [...]. The interdependent construal of self recognizes that one's behaviour is determined, contingent on, and to a large extent organized by what the actor perceives to be the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others in the relationship"* (Kropp et al, 1999:118). An adolescent's identity and behaviour is, then, very much bound up with the behaviour of other members of groups [s]he feels [s]he belongs to.

Much peer group influence takes place within the school environment. In Kindermann's (1993) study, both teachers and parents insist that peer groups play an important role in children's personal adjustment and socialization. The study provides evidence that peer groups have great power to, *"promote or undermine children's motivation in school."* (Kindermann, 1993:975). Other research with schools demonstrates a shift from an adult-focused orientation to a peer focused orientation as children approach adolescence (Lynch & Cicchetti, 1997:91). They report, *"more positive perceptions of their relationships with peers and less positive perceptions of their relationships with adults [mothers and teachers]."* (Lynch & Cicchetti, 1997:81). The influence of authority figures, then, appears to decline as the influence of peers increases.

Geuens et al (2002) describe social acceptance by peers as one of the enduring motivations of children, and assert that friends are often the most important source

for choosing products (Geuens et al, 2002:59). This point is illustrated well by Moore & Lutz's (2000) research into children, advertising and product experiences. Talking about Sodalicious advertising, a 12 year old respondent says, *"He ate it and then all these other people ate it. It's like a lot of people would do that. One person will buy something and eat it. And then the other people, if he's popular, they'll go and get it too"* (Moore & Lutz, 2000:42). This point is particularly relevant to the author's study, where we will also see whether consuming certain snacks is used by children as a means of fitting in with their peer group.

A brief review of other literature on this subject reveals the following: there is some suggestion that the peer group has more importance for children from families from lower socio-economic groups (Mac Candless, 1969), although this finding has been contradicted (Belk, Mayer and Driscoll, 1984). It has also been suggested that the peer group is a more important influence for boys than for girls (Ward, Wackman and Wartella, 1977). In addition, Moschis and Moore's research finds support for the hypothesis that the more frequently an adolescent interacts with peers about consumption matters, the greater the tendency to use peer preferences in evaluating products (1979).

Overall, as children reach early adolescence, peers are clearly one of the strongest influences on their socialization and consumer development. It will be interesting to see how strongly peer group influence comes across as a factor affecting brand choices and personal values in the author's interviews with her young respondents. The final influence on consumer socialization to be discussed in this literature review is that of stores, and this is the subject we will now examine.

3.3.5 Store Influence

As another important stimulus that children are exposed to from an early age, retail outlets will also play a role in the child's consumer development. McNeal (1992) conducted research with 62 stores to determine how child-oriented they

were. Overall, two thirds were identified as child-oriented in 1991 [in terms of, for example, facilities and promotions for children and attitudes towards them], versus just one third in 1984.

Toys R Us shows how the physical layout of a store can represent a battleground between children and parents in their social aspirations, values and desire to spend money. The aisles are clearly separated by age groups, gender, and even physical and mental activities. Children learn to recognise Mattel's 'wall of pink' Barbie packaging by the age of two; girls to seek it out, boys to avoid it (Seiter, 1992).

In McNeal's research with eight year old American children, he asked them to, *"Draw what comes to your mind when you think about going shopping"* (1992). An attachment to both brands and supermarkets was evident. Almost 38% of drawings depicted brands, though these were neither cued nor requested. Children showed a fascination with shopping trolleys, and 70% depicted shopping as fun, demonstrating a strong desire to own products, while for 30% the experience was rather frightening. Shopping, then, is clearly an important part of the childhood experience, and, as such, an important stimulus in forming consumer values.

Differences in the shopping environment can, however, lead to significant differences in children's consumer behaviour. Page and Ridgway (2001), in their research into the consumption patterns of children from disparate socio-economic backgrounds, describe the consumer environment of children from lower socio-economic status families in the US: it is alienating and run down. There is a narrow range of poorly- stocked discount and convenience stores with extensive security systems. This is in contrast to the pristine mall that makes up the consumer environment of the higher socio-economic status children, with its speciality shops, boutiques, and abundant assortment of basic and luxury goods (Page & Ridgway, 2001:25). The authors find that there is a significant association between a child's socio-economic status and his or her consumption aspirations: *"when asked how they would spend \$50, the majority of lower socio-*

economic status children chose basic goods [51.4%] while the majority of upper socio-economic status children chose luxury/recreational goods [53.2%]" (Page & Ridgway, 2001:30). It is clear, then, that the particular consumer environments children are exposed to are important in explaining differences in their consumer behaviour.

Taking these points into account, it will be important that, in the author's study, the British and Spanish samples should be matched as closely as possible in terms of the retail environment to which they are exposed. This will help ensure greater comparability of results. Clearly, a perfect matching of the two samples will be impossible, as a different range of stores exists in the UK compared to Spain. The experience of socialization in Spain will inevitably be somewhat different to the British experience, given the differences in habits and lifestyles between the two countries. It will be useful, at this point, to see what we can learn from the literature, in terms of the extent to which cross-cultural differences in socialization exist.

3.3.6 Cross-Cultural Differences in Socialization

While some research demonstrates a high degree of homogeneity between socialization patterns in different countries (Cox, 1997), other research suggests that consumer socialization does differ from one geographic setting to another (Ward, Robertson et al, 1986; Ward, Klees & Robertson, 1987; McNeal, 1992). Any differences in socialization between Spain and the UK are of particular interest to the author's study. Redondo-Bellon et al's (2000) research into family life cycles highlights some interesting differences between Spanish and American or British families and lifestyles: *"the most habitual form of extended family in Spain is the cohabitation of three generations, which accounts for 7.6% of households. [...] Moreover, the marriage ties are more stable since the percentage of divorces is very much lower [...]; this is due to, among other reasons, the greater stability of Catholic ties [...] to the relatively recent introduction of divorce [...] and to the fact that there are fewer women on the jobs*

market." (Redondo-Bellon et al, 2000:621). Living in an extended family would clearly alter the influences on children, and, therefore, alter the process of socialization.

Another difference is that in Spain, on average, children cease living with their parents at twenty five years of age (Redondo-Bellon et al, 2000:621), whereas children in the UK often move away from their parents at eighteen. The average age of first marriage is, therefore, later in Spain, *"due to the scarcity of jobs, the high cost of housing and the convenience of the parental home"* (Redondo-Bellon et al, 2000:621). As time goes on, however, the Spanish environment is becoming more similar to the UK environment. The following changes are common to both countries: *"the rise in single-person and single parent households; fall in marriage rates and increase in the divorce rate; growth of cohabiting couples and the putting off of having children"* (Redondo-Bellon et al, 2000:622-3).

It is important to be aware of the potential differences between the Spanish and British experiences of socialization while the author conducts her study.

However, the literature shows that the experience is becoming more similar in both countries, as lifestyles and family life cycles begin to converge. The author should not find, then, that there is too much disparity in the way her Spanish and British respondents have developed as consumers. As children grow older, they are not, of course, simply developing as consumers; they are also developing a sense of identity and self. It will be interesting to see what the literature can tell us about the relationship between consumption and a child's emerging sense of self.

3.4 Relationship Between Consumption and an Emerging Sense of Self and Identity

We know from both psychology and marketing literature that people can use possessions and the goods they purchase to support or enhance their sense of identity and self (Grubb & Hupp, 1968; Dolich, 1969; Dixon & Street, 1975;

Furby, 1978; Sirgy, 1982; Belk, 1988; Furby, 1991; Quester et al, 2000; Hogg & Banister, 2001; Kjeldgaard, 2002;). Various authors have attempted to define 'self', which provides us with a useful starting point for our discussion on this subject. Grubb et al (1967) assert: *"The self is what one is aware of, one's attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and evaluations of oneself as an object. The self represents a totality which becomes a principal value around which life revolves, something to be safe-guarded and, if possible, to be made still more valuable."* (Grubb et al, 1967:24).

They go on to describe how this 'self' evolves through the process of social experience, and from the reactions of other people (Grubb et al, 1967:24). Parents, peers, teachers and significant others will all help, then, to enhance an individual's self-concept through their positive reactions to him or her. Goods can play a role as symbols communicating between the individual and his or her significant references: *"self-support and self-enhancement can take place through association with goods which have a desirable social meaning and from the favorable reaction of significant references in the social interaction process."* (Grubb et al, 1967:25).

Schenk and Holman (1980) also describe the important role goods can play in allowing an individual to express his or her self-image (Schenk & Holman, 1980:611). They focus, however, on situational self-image, a concept which derives from symbolic interactionism, a subset of sociological theory. They define this as the meaning of self that the individual wishes others to have of him or herself in a specific situation (Schenk & Holman, 1980:611). While other authors have referred to 'actual self' and 'ideal self' [for example, Dolich, 1969; Quester et al, 2000], the situational self is a combination of the two. Self concept is not seen, then, as something that is fixed and unchanging, but, rather, something that can change from one situation to another. It follows that a particular brand choice might be relevant in one situation but not in another, *"because the self images needed in the two situations are different from one another."* (Schenk & Holman, 1980:612). Hogg and Banister (2001) also explore the way individuals

use their consumption experiences to create and maintain their sense of self, but their focus is on the role of the 'undesired self'. They explore what people choose **not** to consume in order to avoid this undesired self.

Possessions and products, then, are seen as symbols of identity. In Belk's work on possessions and the extended self (1988), he quotes Tuan (1980) who summarises this theme in stark terms: "*Our fragile sense of self needs support and this we get by having and possessing things, because, to a large degree, we are what we have and possess.*" (Tuan, 1980:472, cited in Belk, 1988:139). Furby's work lends support to this argument as she asserts, "*a highly significant dimension of material objects is that they serve as symbolic expressions of who we are*" (Furby, 1991:167, cited in Gunter & Furnham, 1998:45). This view is echoed by Dittmar (1992) who describes this symbolic meaning as socially shared, and as being established through social processes (Dittmar, 1992:90). The symbolic meaning of goods means that other people react to an individual in terms of the material possessions that surround him or her (ibid). Belk (1988) argues that it is only a whole range of products or brands, "*a complete ensemble of consumption objects*" (Belk, 1988:140) that will be able to represent all the diverse aspects of the total self.

This relationship between consumption and an individual's sense of identity is of particular interest to the author, given that the empirical work carried out for this PhD thesis will reveal whether the young respondents are purchasing certain brands in order to bolster their sense of self, as the literature asserts. With particular reference to children, several authors refer to the key role that objects and possessions can play. It has been identified, for instance, that children use soft toys and cartoon characters to give them a sense of security, while bicycles, dressing-up clothes, and identifying with pop stars can give children a sense of independence. Computer games, and identifying with fantasy characters such as Superman, on the other hand, can give children a sense of control (Bielli & Piccone, 1998).

In addition, Gunter & Furnham (1998) talk of possessions as a means for children to express their identity and aspirations, for example, by providing enjoyment, independence, emotional security, and a sense of individuality. Possessions are, *"spontaneously described by their owners as being part of oneself and they are related to both self-esteem and well-being. This develops over time. Children often establish powerful relationships with objects [...] which provides comfort and security."* (Gunter & Furnham, 1998:43). Furby (1991) discusses how the manipulation of objects provides children with a means to control their environment: *"Possessions become integrated with the child's developing concept of self because they offer a very high degree of contingent control, almost as great as the control one experiences over one's body"* (Furby, 1991:35, cited in Gunter & Furnham, 1998:45).

Furby's earlier (1978) research demonstrates that this desire to control the use of possessions was of particular significance to early adolescents [approximately eleven years of age]. Furby makes the link between this desire and the, *"increased concern at that age with establishing one's independence and identity"* (Furby, 1978:60); a concern that will be of great importance to the author's respondents.

According to Guber and Berry (1993), while explorative play is the 'work' of the toddler, defining one's identity is the 'work' of the youth. Children go through a process of deciding what they stand for, what their interests are, what subjects they will pursue in school, what musical instruments and sports they will play. Guber and Berry (1993) assert that products and brands play an important role in this process of self-definition. Belk (1988) cites Montemayor and Eisen's (1977) study, which asked teenagers to describe who they are, and which found that in the early teenage years, respondents cited possessions, as well as name and location, as part of their identity. Older teenagers, however, were more likely to cite skills [e.g. athletic, artistic], defining themselves more by what they do than what they have (Belk, 1988:146). It appears, then, that this time of early adolescence, which is of particular interest to the author, is a time when products

and possessions play an integral part in helping the child define him or herself, and in enhancing and preserving this sense of identity.

As more and more material goods are branded in today's consumer society, it will often be these branded products that play an important role in young consumers' attempts to define themselves and their identity relative to their peers. Roedder John's (2002) research talks specifically of how children use brands to define their self-images. In a qualitative study with eight to seventeen year olds, she found that, *"the number of self-brand connections, used as a measure of the extent to which children define their self-images in terms of brand names, increased with age."* (Roedder John, 2002:48).

Clothing is a key example of a product category that children use to help them define their self-image. Children as young as eight years old are showing an interest in brand names such as The Gap (Cox, 1997). Young consumers' clothing has become a way of making a statement of being 'cool', of belonging to the right social group, of being a certain type of person, and of distinguishing an individual from others (Belk, 1988:153). Much schoolwear in the UK is now in the form of branded leisurewear, while branded accessories are growing in importance; for example, Caterpillar [rucksacks, footwear, belts], Swatch and G-Shock watches (Cox, 1997).

Clothes, it has been said, *"are seen as the outer skin of our personality and identity [...]. Clothes clearly form part of an extended sense of self."* (Dittmar, 1992:41). Clothing has much more than a functional use, and clearly indicates something about the wearer (Swartz, 1983:59; Elliott, 1994:13). In Gutman and Alden's (1985) study of adolescents' cognitive structures relating to retail stores and fashion, they find that the choice of popular brands is closely linked to making individuals feel important, stand out, and impress others. Some respondents are, *"keenly aware of the image and styling properties of the brands they buy. They are the most involved in adopting the symbolic values of the*

brands and making them part of their self-concepts." (Gutman & Alden, 1985:110).

In Belk et al's (1982) research into the recognition of consumption symbolism, they also conclude that clothing is closely related to self-image, as are food products: *"Food products and clothing are mentioned among those product categories where there is significant image congruence."* (Belk et al, 1982:4-5). Belk's later (1988) research also mentions the role of food in creating a sense of identity: *"Because food so obviously is incorporated into self, sharing food is a symbolic way of sharing group identity. The neighborly cup of coffee, holiday meals [...] are all examples of bonding through food."* (Belk, 1988:151). Given that both these product categories – food and clothing – appear to have an important part to play in helping one develop and maintain a sense of self, they are particularly suitable categories for the author to explore in her study.

We have seen, then, that possessions and goods, which nowadays are often branded, can be used by people to support or enhance their sense of identity and self. It appears that, in particular, early adolescence is a time when products and brands play an integral part in helping the child define him or herself. This learning is of particular relevance to the author, given that 11-12 year olds will form her sample. We will now move on to a more detailed discussion of the product categories selected for the author's empirical research: clothing and snacks; both categories that, as we have seen, are closely related to self-image.

4. CHOICE OF PRODUCT CATEGORIES

4.1 Consumer Involvement in the Chosen Product Categories

As mentioned above, the author's research will focus on snacks and clothing brands. Literature on the subject of consumer involvement provides some interesting empirical evidence relating to these categories. Let us start with a definition of involvement. According to Peter & Olson (1987), "*Involvement refers to consumers' perceptions of importance or personal relevance for an object, event, or activity. Consumers who perceive that a product has personally relevant consequences are said to be involved with the product and to have a personal relationship with it.*" (Peter & Olson, 1987, cited in Claeys & Vanden Abeele, 2001:364). Although empirical work on this subject was carried out with an adult audience, it gives a valuable general insight into involvement levels.

In Laurent & Kapferer's (1985) work measuring consumer involvement profiles, they describe five antecedents or facets of involvement:

- (i) The perceived importance of the product (its personal meaning);

The perceived risk associated with the product purchase (two parts);
- (ii) perceived importance of negative consequences in case of poor choice;
- (iii) perceived probability of making such a mistake
- (iv) The symbolic or sign value attributed by the consumer to the product, its purchase, or its consumption;

- (v) The hedonic value of the product, its emotional appeal, its ability to provide pleasure and affect.

Laurent & Kapferer believe that all these facets should be taken into account, and that it is not possible to capture a consumer's involvement through a single index. They make the point that it is enduring rather than situational involvement that will be related to centrally held values, defining identity and individuality. They define the perceived importance of the product and the hedonic value of the product as indicators of enduring involvement, while the other facets can be either enduring or situational; it is, perhaps, the former two facets, then, that we should assess most closely, given that the author's proposed research explores the area of brands as value satisfiers.

The product areas in Laurent & Kapferer's (1985) research that bear the closest relation to fashion clothing and snacks are: dresses, bras, chocolate and yoghurt. For dresses and bras, consumers are shown to have very high levels of involvement, in all its facets. Laurent & Kapferer (1985) describe dresses as, *"extremely ego-involving because of their symbolic meaning vis-à-vis relevant others, their capacity to express one's lifestyle or personality."* (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985:42). These findings link well with much practitioner-led research which describes children's clothes as a key part of their attempt to define themselves and their identity relative to their peers (Cox, 1997).

Similarly, examining the results of Ratchford's work using the FCB grid (1987), jeans emerge as 'high involvement' [though not as high as, for instance, sports cars, watches and perfumes], and also score highly on the 'feel' scale: that is, the purchase decision is based on emotion, ego gratification, or the desire for sensory pleasure.

If we assess empirical results relating to snack products, the findings are rather different. According to Laurent & Kapferer's work (1985) chocolate and yoghurt both have high hedonic value: their ability to provide pleasure is very high. The scores are low, however, for sign value, risk importance, and extent of decision

process. The pleasure factor also emerges for the salty snacks category in Ratchford's (1987) work, as these snacks score highly on the sensory 'feel' scale. In terms of the FCB grid's (Ratchford, 1987) definition of involvement, however, the scores are low [consumers understood involvement to mean amount of deliberation or deliberation time when making a purchase, and also saw involvement as containing notions of importance or risk.].

According to empirical evidence, then, snack products are involving in that they provide a high degree of pleasure and affect, or a high hedonic value; in this sense, consumers' involvement in these products is enduring. Unlike clothing, however, they are not a high risk purchase requiring extensive deliberation, and could therefore be described as lower in involvement than the former. As these two product categories are associated with different levels of involvement, they will provide an interesting contrast when exploring the values they are tapping into or satisfying in young consumers.

The research findings will also contribute to the debate on the potential for symbolic positioning of brands in lower involvement product categories (McWilliam, 1992). The author's research will help explore the question of whether it is true that a potential for symbolic positioning is only possible if, a priori, the product category itself has potential for symbolic expression (Munson & Spivey, 1980), such as clothing. Or, whether the opposite view can be supported that, *"Any product [e.g. toothpaste] theoretically can be positioned with a functional, symbolic or experiential image"* (Park, Jaworski & MacInnis, 1986). The research technique will reveal whether the 'ladders' elicited for snack products are purely functional, or whether they do, indeed, tap into higher level values, contributing to one's self-concept, as clothes do. This will have interesting implications for suggested brand positioning models for the chosen product categories.

Peter & Olson (1987) suggest that means-end chains can be a particularly effective tool for understanding involvement levels: *"Means-end chains can help marketers understand consumers' product involvement because they show how knowledge about*

product attributes is related to their knowledge about self." (Peter & Olson, 1987, cited in Claey's & Vanden Abeele, 2001:368). Claey's and Vanden Abeele (2001) introduce several characteristics of the Hierarchical Values Map as potential indices of involvement: *"the number of means-end chains elicited and the highest level of abstraction reached."* (Claey's & Vanden Abeele, 2001:371).

Other characteristics useful in assessing involvement are: *"the number of values mentioned, their centrality or importance to the consumer, and their nature [instrumental versus terminal]"* (ibid., 2001:371). It is believed that, *"high-enduring involvement is reflected in the attainment of important values."* (Claey's & Vanden Abeele, 2001:372). Bagozzi and Dabholkar (2000) make a related point regarding how means-end chain theory can be used to assess involvement levels, in their study of a sample of the public's stance towards [now ex-] President Clinton. They believe that a higher number of linkages between elements is related to a higher level of involvement, stating that, *"the stronger the feelings toward the president, the more likely they will be linked to a greater number of cognitions and linkages. [...] greater involvement and motivation lead to increased cognitive elaboration."* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:544).

Means-end chain theory, then, offers a valuable framework with which to consider involvement. Claey's and Vanden Abeele (2001) assert that it, *"provides academics with a new alternative to operationalize and measure this important construct."* (Claey's & Vanden Abeele, 2001:385). It will be interesting to apply the author's research findings to Claey's and Vanden Abeele's (2001) indices of involvement, as well as to Laurent and Kapferer's (1985) earlier facets of involvement. By doing this, we will be able to see whether, according to these parameters, snacks and clothing brands emerge as high involvement product categories, for the Spanish and British respondents. Let us now take a closer look at the literature relating to, first clothing, and then snacks brands, in order to justify the author's selection of these two product categories for her study.

4.2 Fashion Clothing Brands

Fashion clothing is a suitable product category for research, given the important role fashion plays in children's lives as they approach the teenage years. 56% of British 12-17 year olds 'definitely agree' with the statement, "*I wear what I want*" (Powell & Wicken, 2002:36). Much sports and casual wear is now branded, and these brands are often worn to school. Children have strong and clear views regarding the images associated with different sportswear brands (Hogg et al, 1998:298). 8-12 year old boys are very label conscious when it comes to sportswear brands, while for 'tween' [8-12 year old] girls, design and style are the most important aspects of fashion, with many aspiring to fashions worn by media icons such as Victoria Beckham (Smallshaw, 2001:24). As discussed earlier [see section 3.4], clothes can be a statement of being 'savvy' or 'cool', and give the child a sense of belonging to a certain group (Belk, 1988; Cox, 1997). We have also seen that clothing is a high involvement category [section 4.1], and plays a key role in children's attempts to define themselves and their identity relative to their peers (Cox, 1997).

In addition, fashion clothing is an area where many strong global brands have developed, such as Levi's and Calvin Klein, where international standardisation of marketing practices is often feasible. This makes it an interesting category to examine from a cross-cultural perspective, to identify whether or not these international brands are satisfying similar values for both young Spanish and British consumers.

4.3 Snack Brands

For the purposes of the author's proposed research, the snacks category has been limited to salty snacks and chocolate. As discussed earlier [see section 4.1], although snacks do not score highly on all facets of involvement (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985) chocolate is shown to have high hedonic value. Similarly, salty snacks score highly on the sensory 'feel' scale in Ratchford's (1987) work.

The author conducted an interview with Gil McWilliam, who was then Associate Professor of Marketing at London Business School, to discuss the subject of involvement levels for snack products [Gil's PhD thesis and subsequent writing focus on the area of consumer involvement in brand and product categories]. Gil McWilliam's expert view is that snacks are fairly low in involvement generally, although this will vary from one individual to another. Any form of qualitative research will, however, stimulate involvement levels. The act of focusing on a product category in an interview automatically induces high involvement. Because the respondents will be asked to elaborate cognitively during the proposed interviews, involvement levels will potentially be the same in both cases. What may be experienced are different *types* of involvement. For instance, fashion products are likely to stimulate more self-expressive involvement, while snack products are likely to generate thoughts which are more utilitarian. It will be interesting to see whether individual respondents' ladders support this theory.

Snacks play an important part in children's daily routines, either as sustenance between meals or, *"as something nice to have in regular situations such as coming home from school, and also as treats."* (Smith, 1997). Snacks can therefore be seen to satisfy a variety of needs in children, and carry out many different roles: for instance, as a comforter, a reward, a filler, a signal to relax, a signal to play etc. Different products and brands may, therefore, have different associations for children; they are likely to be delivering different benefits, and may be allowing children to reach different end-states. These will be fruitful issues to explore in the proposed research.

Cox (1997) discusses, *"the intriguing interaction of attitudes to food and fashion: the way attitudes to food have been modelled in many ways by attitudes to fashion."* (Cox, 1997:26). He asserts that children are much more aware of diet than they were in the past, often for appearance rather than health reasons. Several recent surveys have shown that fear of being perceived as overweight is one of children's most important concerns. The pressure to be thin is particularly strong for girls, who strive to emulate the stick-thin models presented in the media

(Cox, 1997). For both product categories, then, it will be interesting to see whether the desire to be perceived as thin is an important motivator for brand choice.

As we have seen, however, [section 2.1] in spite of this desire to appear thin, there is a growing concern among medical professionals and the Government that the incidence of childhood obesity is increasing rapidly in the UK. It is feared that, as well as the obvious health risks – for example, overweight people are more likely to develop type-2 diabetes, coronary heart disease and some cancers – there may also be social and psychological effects for children, *“including stigmatisation, discrimination, prejudice, low self-image and depression.”* (Food Standards Agency News, 2004).

Crisps, which can be found in many school vending machines, are often blamed as a contributor to the poor diet eaten by many children. A UK-wide survey carried out by The Food Standards Agency revealed that, *“at lunchtime, children eat as much as twice the recommended amount of sugar and close to half of their daily recommended salt intake [...]. The salt tended to come from foods such as white bread, ham and crisps.”* (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). The Food Standards Agency has now launched a lunch-box campaign giving practical tips to parents on how to reduce saturated fat, salt and sugar in children’s lunch-boxes.

We have already seen that certain research indicates that advertising and promotion can influence children’s diets [see section 3.3.3]. The Food Standards Agency acknowledges, however, that a number of influences play a part here: *“individual preferences; social, parental and peer influences; the lack of availability of certain foods”* as well as, *“the way foods can be designed to appeal to children [...], the way food is labelled; the composition of foods promoted for children”* (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). It will be interesting to see whether the author’s findings can, in any way, contribute to this debate on snack food consumption and childhood obesity.

There is evidence in other literature, nevertheless, that children do have a growing awareness of the health and nutritional values of food. According to a survey carried out by Asda/Henley Centre (1993), 40% of children eat healthy food out of a positive commitment to well-being (cited in Smith, 1997: 57). Interest in animal rights and vegetarianism among this age group also affects their relationship with food (Cox, 1997). Food is a category, then, where children are making a direct connection between what they consume, how they feel physically, and how they feel about themselves. This should make it a rich area for probing with young consumers.

As discussed, a broad spectrum of influences help determine food and snack choices: geography, religion, ethnic composition, economics, international trade and travel, retailers and peer groups have all been identified as significant factors (Balasubramanyam, 1994, cited in Smith, 1997), as well as those mentioned above by the Food Standards Agency. Local cultural preferences are strong, and 'universal' brands are more difficult to develop. This category will, therefore, provide an interesting contrast to the more internationally relevant fashion clothing brands, given the cross-cultural comparisons that will be made. Having now provided justification for the author's chosen product categories, let us move on to justify the author's choice of age group for her study.

5. CHOICE OF AGE GROUP

Piaget's (1970) stages of the intellectual development of the child provide a useful framework for understanding child development, and, therefore, understanding the age at which a child might be capable of expressing values. According to Piaget, at approximately 12 years of age, a child moves into the stage of Formal Operations, and becomes capable of reasoning, "*not only on the basis of objects, but also on the basis of hypotheses, or of propositions*" (Piaget, 1970). In terms of carrying out research, then, children's cognitive abilities will now allow them to be approached with more 'adult' styles of questions and tasks. Their intellectual development level means that they can now carry out much more complex mental processes, grouping elements, "*in flexible combinations of each element of the system with any other element of that system.*" (Piaget, 1970). The table below highlights the key capabilities associated with Piaget's (1970) four stages of intellectual development.

Table 1: Piaget's (1970) Stages of Intellectual Development of the Child

Stage of Development	Approximate Age	Capabilities
Sensori-Motor Stage	0 – 18 months/2 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Actions, movements and perceptions without language• Gradually assimilating new objects into their world
Pre-Operational Stage	2 – 7 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Begin to use symbols in their games; fantasy play is popular

Concrete Operations Stage	7 – 12 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can classify objects according to their similarity or difference • Can ‘serialize’ objects, e.g. arrange them according to size and weight
Formal Operations Stage	12 years +	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capable of reasoning, not only on the basis of objects, but also on the basis of hypotheses, or of propositions • Can deal with more ‘adult’ styles of questions and tasks • Can carry out complex mental processes

For some researchers, however, Piaget’s approach is too rigid and mechanistic, defining universal, biologically determined stages of development without sufficient regard for the social context of this development. According to Kitchener, *“Piaget’s view is that there is a universal and common set of principles governing the operation of intelligence wherever it is manifested.”* (Kitchener, 1996:245). Marti emphasises the point further, stating, *“He emphasised the universal aspects of culturally independent cognition, trying to capture the essential cognitive components of the human species and to show what is developed despite cultural variations.”* (Marti, 1996:270). The potentially important impact of socio-cultural factors is therefore neglected.

Vygotsky's theories of child development are often contrasted with Piaget's, as their emphasis is precisely on this area of socially determined development:

"Vygotskian psychology presents a socio-cultural analysis of human development. Ontogenesis according to Vygotsky is fundamentally a social process through which the self is constructed dialectically by the individual and the socio-cultural context. Development does not, as Piaget implied, progress from the individual to the social. All psychological phenomena first appear between people, on the social plane, and only later become internalized within the individual mind." (Rutland, 1996:150).

It is important, however, that readings of Piaget and Vygotsky are not too simplistic. As Glassman says, *"there was an individual for Vygotsky, there was a social context for Piaget, and they played important, if not specifically overt roles in the saga of human development"* (Glassman, 1995:480). Piaget's stages of cognitive development should not, then, be viewed as an absolute, unquestionable reality, but rather as a flexible indicator of cognitive abilities and limitations. Vygotsky's insight into the role socio-cultural factors play in enhancing or inhibiting cognitive development provides a richer picture of child development.

Neo-Piagetian research into children's information processing skills extends Piaget's (1970) approach by providing a more detailed description of cognitive functioning, assessing children's abilities to store and retrieve information. Roedder (1981) examines how children can use rehearsal and retrieval techniques to transfer information from short-term to long-term memory. She describes 8-12 year old children as, 'cued processors', meaning they can use storage and retrieval strategies effectively when prompted (Roedder, 1981:144). Other research integrates a clear psycho-social dimension into Piaget's concepts, and proposes techniques whereby children can enhance recall and overcome the cognitive limitations associated with a particular age (Robertson & Rossiter, 1975; Guttman, Levin, & Pressley, 1977; Roedder John & Sujan, 1990; Bree, 1990; Peracchio, 1990; Karsaklian, 1996).

Although the literature indicates that it would not be sensible to be guided solely by strict age boundaries, all of the above-mentioned studies lead the author to believe that 11-12 year olds should not experience difficulties in a laddering interview. As children under approximately twelve years of age *may* have problems thinking in an abstract way and *may*, therefore, have problems expressing values (Piaget, 1970; Kennedy, 1990), no children who are less than eleven/twelve years of age will be interviewed for the author's research. This will avoid the potential problem of not obtaining usable data.

The author believes that children of this age group will prove to be suitable respondents, not just because of their level of cognitive development, but also because of their level of development as consumers. As we have seen [section 3.2], research indicates that children are adept at decoding the symbolic meaning of brands by 11-12 years of age (Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003:217). At this age, they are active, independent shoppers (McNeal, 1992), highly cognizant of their consumption choices (Belk et al, 1982), and knowledgeable about products and brands (Ward et al, 1977). However, taking into account the view that consumer socialization is as much, if not more, a result of the social environment than cognitive development (Wyckham & Collins-Dodd, 1997; Roedder, John & Whitney, 1986), it will not automatically be assumed that *all* twelve year old children will be suitable respondents. Instead, checks will be made prior to selection to ensure that all children are articulate, and have an understanding of the concept of brands.

In addition, it is at approximately twelve years of age that children develop a stronger sense of identity and clearer aspirations (Bielli, Brembati, & Piccone, 1997; Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997). As we have seen in section 3.4, possessions and material goods also play a key role at this age, as a means of expressing one's identity and aspirations (Belk, 1988; Furby, 1991; Donnenfeld & Goodhand, 1997; Gunter & Furnham, 1998; Roedder John, 2002). This is therefore a highly suitable age at which to question children on the values satisfied by certain brands.

Finally, research has identified the 'tweens' group [defined in this study as 10-12 year olds] as the fastest growing market niche in the USA (Sunday Times, 15th November, 1998), so from a commercial point of view, gaining a greater understanding of this age group is highly attractive. The author will not, however, interview both girls and boys for her study. The section below highlights the reasons for this decision.

6. CHOICE OF GENDER AND GEOGRAPHIC MARKETS

Given the need to ensure maximum comparability and validity of results, it has been decided that the author's proposed research will be limited to one gender. It was felt that the gender comparison, on top of the intended cross-cultural and product category comparisons, would give rise to an unmanageable number of variables for a PhD thesis. Concentrating on one gender will allow more clarity and focus to be retained on the specific issues central to this research. Interesting results could be gained from a sample of either gender. However, given that there still appears to be a slightly higher level of involvement in fashion clothing brands, appearance and diet among girls (Cox, 1997), the author will carry out the proposed research with a sample of girls rather than boys. [Although, as we have seen, pre-teen boys seem to be more label-conscious than girls (Smallshaw, 2001:24)]. Also, as girls mature more quickly than boys, involvement levels are likely to be higher for the former, in general [discussion with Gil McWilliam, March, 1999].

The research study will be carried out in Spain as well as the UK, to enable a cross-cultural comparison of responses. As two developed European nations, where many of the same brands enjoy success [e.g. Levis, Nike, Adidas] certain cultural similarities exist. It will therefore be possible to match respondents fairly closely [see section 8.2 Sample]. Clearly, however, there are differences between the two cultures, and responses will be analysed with a view to highlighting any cultural differences that emerge.

The phenomenon of 'kids growing older younger' [KGOY] has been found to be particularly strong in the UK, where the majority of 7-12 year olds prefer watching gritty, adult 'soaps' on television, compared to other European countries where children's cartoons are preferred (Thomson & Woodham, 1997). Research also shows that UK parents allow their children a freer choice in media consumption, as well as in diet, compared to other European markets (Thomson &

Woodham, 1997). The level of apparent maturity of British children is therefore likely to be higher than that of Spanish children.

As discussed in section 3.3.6, in general, Spanish children live in a closer-knit, extended family environment than their British counterparts. As we have seen, [section 3.3.6] this is driven by economics as well as tradition: the rising cost of housing in Spain, coupled with high unemployment, encourages many young married couples to remain in their parents' home (Bruton, 1994; Redondo-Bellon et al, 2000). These issues are likely to affect the degree of family influence exerted over 11-12 year olds. This may affect the respondents' needs and values, which may, in turn, lead to differences in responses between the Spanish and British interviewees. The author will be aware of all these points when conducting the laddering interviews.

Interviewing 11-12 year old girls from Spain and the UK should, then, allow some interesting comparisons of responses - the two countries are neither too different nor too similar. Moreover, the author feels a strong affinity with the Spanish culture and people, having lived and worked in Spain for extensive periods of time. The author therefore speaks Spanish fluently, which will obviously be critical in carrying out the laddering interviews successfully. The author also has an understanding of marketing practices in Spain, having been responsible for managing an international brand [of stationery] in the Spanish market. Overall, then, carrying out research in the UK and Spanish markets would seem to be a sensible choice; a choice that should lead to some interesting findings.

Having provided the context for the author's study, examined all the relevant literature, and justified the choice of product categories, age group, gender, and geographic markets, we will now move on to discuss exactly how the author's research will be carried out.

7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Having looked in some detail at *what* the author's research is about, and the literature pertaining to this, we will present, in this section, *how* the author's research will be carried out. We will discuss, first, the philosophical perspective that runs through this research study, and will then detail the methodological approach that is being adopted. The author will highlight any particular issues associated with carrying out cross-cultural research, as well as underlining the specific challenges of carrying out research with children.

7.1 The Philosophical Perspective

The author feels a strong affinity with the subjective-interpretive epistemology, which asserts that reality is socially constructed. There is a certain compatibility between this phenomenological view of the world where, *"people are constantly involved in interpreting their world - social situations, other people's behaviour, their own behaviour, and naturally and humanly created objects."* (Blaikie, 1993), and the author's area of exploration.

The positivist epistemology asserts that the world is external and objective, that the researcher should focus on facts, look for causality and fundamental laws, reduce phenomena to the simplest elements, formulate hypotheses and test them, and operationalise concepts so that they can be measured (Easterby-Smith et al, 1996). This approach, the author believes, is too rigidly 'black and white' to deal with an area as imprecise as people's values.

It will be important for the author to probe individuals' perception and interpretation of their reality, and to understand the deeply held beliefs that guide behaviour (Rokeach, 1969). There is no single truth in this area, but rather, different, equally valid constructions of reality. The subjects of the study will give **their** answers, not **the** answers to questions, according to their version of reality and what is true for them. As Denzin & Lincoln say, the interpretivist

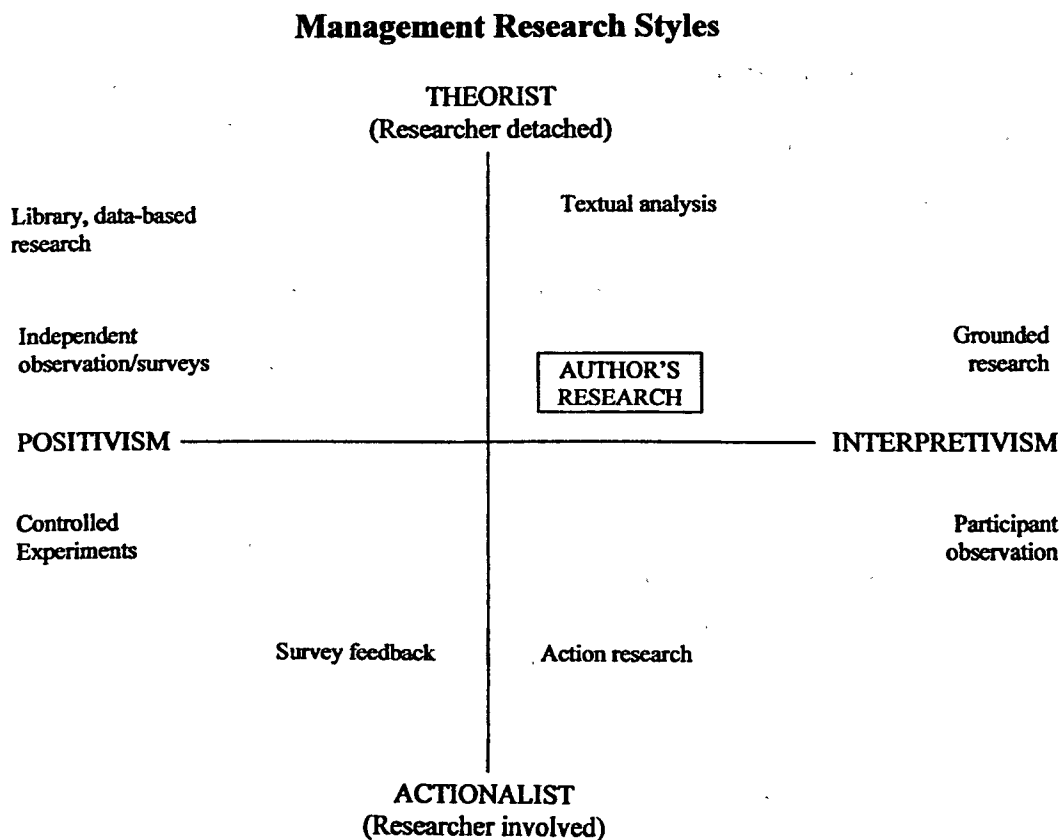
ontology has the goal of, *"understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it"* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Reality is constructed by the research respondents, or, *"social actors"* (ibid.): *"particular actors, in particular places, at particular times, fashion meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action"* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:221-222).

Although each individual's version of reality will be slightly different, this does not mean that the researcher's interpretive analysis cannot find common themes and patterns within the respondents' answers. As the respondents from each country will be selected for their similarity [e.g. they will be the same age, sex, social group, all will be articulate: see section 8.1 and 9.2], the author expects to find certain similarities in their attitudes and responses. Equally, it is expected that there will be differences determined by geographic culture, as suggested by Denzin & Lincoln: *"realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature [although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures]"* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

The author will attempt to remain as independent and detached as possible while gathering data, in order to uncover and understand the informants' interpretation of the world. Of course, the very act of analysis will involve the author in interpreting the data gathered. In other words, we have, *"the inquirer's construction of the constructions of the actors one studies."* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 222). This struggle to maintain, *"the opposition of subjectivity and objectivity, engagement and objectification"* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 223) is not easy to deal with. However, while the researcher's subjectivity cannot be eliminated, it should still be possible to reach a deep understanding of the respondents' view of the world; as Geertz says in his discussion on the interpretation of cultures, *"A good interpretation of anything - a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society - takes us into the heart of that of which it is the interpretation."* (Geertz, 1973).

The author's research can be viewed, then, as both 'theorist' and 'interpretivist', as shown in the following diagram:

Figure 8: Management Research Styles



Source: Easterby-Smith et al, 1996

In Stephen Brown's (1995) work analysing the differences between postmodern and interpretivist marketing research, he constructs a useful four-cell matrix that summarises the contrasting epistemological and ontological bases of different research approaches.

Figure 9: Different Research Approaches

		Epistemology	
		Objective	Subjective
Ontology	Objective	'Traditional' Marketing Research	'Traditional' Qualitative Research
	Subjective	Interpretive Marketing Research	Postmodern Marketing Research

Source: Brown, 1995

The author's study falls within the interpretive marketing research box. Brown (1995) describes this as follows: *"The bottom left hand cell presupposes that individuals do not have direct access to the real world – language, culture, theory and other distortions are interposed – but that their knowledge of this perceived world [or worlds] is meaningful in its own terms and can be understood through careful use of appropriate naturalistic or ethnographic research procedures, though generalisations and universally valid findings are unattainable."* (Brown, 1995:300). This view that each respondent's interpretation of reality is meaningful in its own terms, is very much in keeping with the author's view.

'Traditional' marketing research, on the other hand, assumes that, *"individuals have direct, unmediated access to the real world and that, [...] it is possible to obtain hard, secure, objective knowledge about this single external reality."* (Brown, 1995 :300). This is somewhat different to 'traditional' qualitative research which, *"also assumes direct, unmediated access to external reality but*

assumes that people's knowledge of this world is highly individual, subjective, unquantifiable, difficult to access and best illuminated through the use of 'traditional' qualitative research procedures like depth interviews and group discussions." (Brown, 1995:300).

The final cell – postmodern marketing research – rejects the notion that individuals have unmediated access to external reality, but also questions the very existence of the free-thinking 'subject': *"It maintains that the knowledge people imagine they possess is unreliable, dispersed, fragmented, pre-existing and an epiphenomenon of language."* (Brown, 1995:300). This clearly makes any kind of marketing research problematic, to say the least. While it is important to acknowledge alternative approaches to marketing research, the author feels comfortable with the interpretive approach, and will proceed with her research taking an interpretive perspective.

The small number of qualitative interviews to be carried out in the author's research means that the findings have limited external validity; a larger scale piece of fieldwork would need to be conducted if one wished to generalise the findings to other settings similar to that of the author's study. However, the author aims to carry out research which has strong internal validity, assured by the rigorous process through which the interpretation will be reached [see section 9.1 Methods]. This process will ensure that the findings correctly map the respondents' meanings, and will also assure the reliability of the study, making it possible for another researcher to replicate the study.

7.2 The Methodological Approach

The author's research will take a qualitative, depth interview approach, *"attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them"* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Instead of attempting to gain objective 'facts' about the world, the interviews will be designed to understand and explore the respondents' construction of reality. As the author is not attempting to

define 'objective' truth, nor to test hypotheses, scientifically-based quantitative research methods were not considered appropriate. Depth interviews were felt to be more suitable than the other qualitative methods available: group interviews, observational methods, and interactive workshops.

Group interviews were not considered appropriate as some participants may feel intimidated by others, thus compromising the quality of information received from each individual (Gordon, 1999). Friendship groups are often recommended for children, to overcome the problem of shyness (Gordon, 1999). However, the author felt that this approach could still not match the depth of insight that can be gained from a one-to-one interview.

Observational techniques have the benefit of showing what people do, rather than what they say they do, as one can see how they behave in particular contexts (Gordon, 1999). However, this approach does not provide us with the motivations for people's actions. Interactive workshops can be useful for creative problem-solving by respondents, but the author felt that the challenge of uncovering deep-rooted motivations would be best met by a depth interview approach.

Depth interviews are particularly suitable for "*difficult to interview respondents*" (Gordon, 1999:87). The author would include children in this group, as they have not yet reached developmental maturity, and can find responding to questions difficult. Depth interviews are also particularly appropriate when dealing with sensitive subject matter. Revealing intimate details relating to one's values can make respondents feel vulnerable and exposed, and the author feels that the 'confidential' environment of a one-to-one interview makes it easier for the participant to 'open up' and be candid with the interviewer.

Individual probing gives the researcher the best possible chance of uncovering needs and motivations that are not immediately obvious to the respondent. The laddering technique is particularly suited to this challenge. Its detailed probing will allow the author to gain a depth of insight not generally achieved through

traditional depth interviews. The technique will allow the respondents to express their likes, dislikes and motivations in their own language. Most importantly, this language will then be used to build a mental map of benefits offered by different brands, and the personal values that these brands in some way satisfy. The interviews will be semi-structured; questioning will be guided by the respondents' comments, rather than the interviewees being presented with a set list of closed questions.

The technique facilitates the comparison of results across interviews, target groups and cultures. It benefits from a more structured approach than that associated with most other in-depth interviewing techniques. This allows a highly structured analysis of interview transcripts [see section 9.1 Methods], but without sacrificing the richness of data gathered in the interviews.

Because the primary output of analysis of laddering data is structurally quantitative [see section 9.1 Methods], this 'pseudo-scientific' presentation can make this method appear to be more aligned with the positivist ontology. However, it is important to remember that the deep level of probing and resulting interpretation associated with semi-structured qualitative research [and the subjective-interpretivist ontology] has still taken place. As discussed towards the end of section 3.1.2, the aggregation of data in the Hierarchical Values Map [HVM] is simply a clear, straightforward way of presenting the researcher's interpretation, which has derived from the content analysis of each individual's ladder.

7.2.1 Cross-Cultural Research Issues

Responses gained using a qualitative, cross-national approach are, by their very nature, difficult to compare; cultural and linguistic differences add complexity, meaning that strictly factual data is easier to compare (McCarthy, 1994). However, qualitative studies, if handled carefully, provide a richness of insight which is extremely valuable.

The language used by the respondents is critical, as it is this language that will be analysed as an expression of the benefits and values associated with brands. The language used by the researcher is equally critical. All respondents were interviewed in their native language. The researcher is fluent in English and Spanish, having previously lived and worked in Spain. However, a discussion guide for use in interviews was translated into Spanish by a native Spanish speaker, and then back-translated into English, to ensure equivalence of meaning (Brislin et al, 1973). Instead of literal translations, expressions were used that convey the same sense and feel, as well as the same meaning, in both languages.

Throughout the interview process, it was important that the influence of the research on the subjects should, again, be equivalent across cultures. In some cases, this means that the exact details of the interview procedure [e.g. the specific time of day and setting of interviews] have to be different, to ensure that all interviewees feel equally comfortable and confident with the process. The key objective is to standardise the response to the setting, as far as possible. 11-12 year old British and Spanish children are sufficiently similar that the introduction, explanation of the project and closing remarks could be the same in both countries, without compromising any specific cultural needs. In addition, the same dress code, body language and degree of informality were appropriate to both groups of respondents.

Equivalence of data collection is crucial to ensure comparability of results. All interviews were taped to allow full transcription of data. Interviews were the same length in both countries, and took place within a limited time period. All coding of data was checked by a native speaker, to ensure equivalence of meaning.

7.2.2 Carrying Out Research With Children

Carrying out research with children presents specific challenges that the researcher must overcome. As stated previously, children under the age of 11-12

years were not interviewed due to their potential cognitive limitations. William White, Professor of Psychology at Rutgers University (1965), highlighted various issues which, nearly forty years on, still provide a sound basis for proceeding cautiously. There are considerable differences in maturity between various eleven and twelve year olds; they may find abstract concepts hard to understand, and may have trouble extracting the essence from a statement. Children also tend to blank out when you ask them 'why?' (White, 1965). The researcher should also bear in mind that children are often eager to please, and sometimes tell the interviewer what they think he/she would like to hear (Schneider, 1987).

As the laddering technique requires in-depth interviewing, it is important to be aware of any particular issues associated with this type of research. For 11-14 year olds, the recommended interview length is 45-60 minutes (The Added Value Company, 1998). Anything longer than this is found to be too tiring for a child on his/her own. In addition, activities within the interview should be varied to avoid boredom and fatigue. The use of colourful stimulus material helps to hold children's interest (The Added Value Company, 1998). Textual material, in contrast, should be kept to a minimum. Kuhn & Eischen (1997) emphasise children's lack of interest in purely textual stimulus, asserting that today's children require charts, graphs or visuals to hold their attention (Kuhn & Eischen, 1997:248). Creating a relaxed atmosphere by being at the same eye level as the child is also important (Guber & Berry, 1993; Holmes, 1998).

It is also useful to note comments made by psychologists who have used repertory grid techniques to assess children's personalities. Although the purpose and nature of their interviews is very different to the author's, their comments are pertinent: the author is using a triadic sorting exercise as part of her interviews, which derives from repertory grid techniques and personal construct theory (Kelly, 1955). Salmon's (1976) and Ravenette's (1977) views both help to justify the use of a form of triadic sorting with children, while at the same time highlighting potential difficulties and ways of resolving them.

Salmon (1976) makes the point that Kelly (1955) made no distinction between people on grounds of age, and insisted that, "*right from birth human beings are engaged in construing events*" (Salmon, 1976:18). Salmon goes on to assert, "*The technique lends itself to the assessment of the unique subjectivity world of a particular child on a particular occasion. Within the clinical context, the themes in terms of which a child is currently structuring his life, the way he sees himself and the important figures in his world, the areas which he seems to have difficulty in making sense of – all this is likely to emerge from a sensitive use of grid technique.*" (Salmon, 1976:19).

Salmon (1976) believes that a benefit of using repertory grid technique with children is that, "*as a task, it is not likely to be outside the subject's capacity. Although the sorting of elements on constructs may require effort and thought on the part of the child, it will not be beyond him if the grid has been properly devised.*" (Salmon, 1976:22). She does caution, however, that triadic comparison of elements may be a little complicated for junior school, and possibly even secondary school children. She suggests that, "*for pre-school and younger junior school children, the best way of eliciting constructs is normally conversation.*" (Salmon, 1976:27-28).

This concurs with the views of Ravenette (1977:261), who has also found difficulty in trying to elicit constructs with children: "*Gradually it dawned on me that when I was asking my clients to produce constructs I was inviting them to do something they had never done before [...]. If for the moment we forget the scientific language of personal construct theory and revert to everyday language the interview begins to flow. I say to them that I am interested in how they make sense of things, and ask questions to that end. They are then able to respond fluently, meaningfully and often with considerable perspicacity.*" (Ravenette, 1977:261). The need to speak informally and conversationally with young respondents is advice that the author will bear in mind for her research study. Ravenette (1977) goes on to suggest that, "*if we are to maximise our chances of helping a child to talk to us we must take him into our confidence about the issues*

we might both be interested in, we ask questions in a systematic manner and we enquire in areas in which the child feels relatively safe in his own expertise."

(Ravenette, 1977:265). It is important, then, to gain the child's trust, to be systematic, and to ensure the child feels comfortable with the questions asked.

We have learnt, then, that children may find it difficult to be research respondents due to problems of understanding, or due to an inappropriate style of questioning. Any research in which one wishes children to participate must be enjoyable and interesting to them, and must be presented in an informal, straightforward way. All of these points will be taken into account in the author's research design.

8. RESEARCH DESIGN: THE PILOT STUDY

In this section, the author will first give details of the methods used and the sample selected. The coding and process of analysis used for the pilot study were identical to those used for the full-scale fieldwork. A detailed description of each of these areas has, therefore, been included in section 9 [Research Design: Full-Scale Study]. The Hierarchical Values Maps [HVMs] that were constructed will be shown, and a brief outline of the dominant values that emerged in this pilot work will be included, but a complete analysis of findings will be reserved for section 9: the full-scale empirical study. The author will then focus on conveying how well the laddering process worked, and on describing modifications that were put in place to improve the process, during the course of the pilot study.

8.1 Methods

Twenty four one hour in-depth laddering interviews were carried out, twelve with British girls and twelve with Spanish girls. Half the interviews focused on fashion/clothing brands, and half focused on snack brands. Six interviews were therefore carried out per 'cell' [UK, snacks; UK, clothing; Spain, snacks; Spain, clothing]. The brand sets used in the interviews were selected based on secondary research highlighting preferred brands among this age group (Key Note, 1999) [see Appendix 2 for full list of brands]. A discussion guide was followed in all interviews [See Appendix 3]. This discussion guide was translated into Spanish, and then back-translated into English, to confirm equivalence of meaning between the two texts. All interviews were taped, and these tapes were then transcribed in full.

The discussion guide illustrates the semi-structured form that the interviews took. The five minute 'warm up' was essential to put respondents at their ease, and to help them to focus on the subject under discussion. It was stressed that no answers would be considered right or wrong, as recommended by Reynolds & Gutman (1988). The 'warm up' also enabled the researcher to establish a rapport

before the probing was initiated, and helped instil confidence in the interviewee. In addition, the 'warm up' elicited some general data on attitudes and preferences relating to clothing and snack brands.

The discussion guide allowed questioning to be as direct as possible, while still following what appeared to be an 'unstructured' format (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). The researcher took great pains to avoid non-verbal cues [e.g. approval, disapproval, surprise, hostility], in order to act as what Reynolds & Gutman describe as an, *"interested yet neutral recorder of information"* (1988). However, given the need to reassure these young respondents (Guber & Berry, 1993; Holmes, 1998) the researcher adopted a positive, smiling attitude throughout the interview.

Following the 'warm up', the interview moved on to triadic sorting for approximately fifteen to twenty minutes [see Appendix 3 for exact words used]. Grunert, Beckmann and Sorensen (2001) raise a potential problem associated with triadic sorting: *"A triadic sorting task with an emphasis on visible differences between products, favors concrete intrinsic at the expense of extrinsic or less concrete attributes, and may therefore lead to the generation of irrelevant attributes [for example, about the size or color of products] which may then result in short and irrelevant ladders."* (Grunert et al, 2001:71-72). This was clearly an issue to bear in mind, and highlights the importance of checking directly with respondents that the attributes elicited are important to them. The researcher should then only 'ladder up' from the attributes specified as important.

The age of the respondents meant that great effort had to be made to ensure that the triadic sorting exercise was clearly understood; three different examples were given, after which the researcher checked for understanding. The author was aware that respondents might have some difficulty with triadic sorting, given comments made in the psychology literature (Salmon, 1976; Ravenette, 1977) regarding problems children experienced with repertory grid techniques. The

pilot study was used as a learning ground, on the basis that any modifications necessary would be put in place for the full-scale fieldwork.

The triadic sorting allowed sets of bipolar distinctions [attributes/constructs] to be elicited from each interviewee. All attributes were noted down, with the preferred pole or attribute then serving as the basis for subsequent probing. The researcher preferred this approach of allowing respondents to come up with their own constructs, so that the ladders could be built up entirely using the respondents' language. Reynolds & Gutman (1988) mention two alternative approaches: either pre-selecting distinctions based on the researcher's prior knowledge of the category, or presenting a card with all distinctions mentioned in previous interviews, asking the respondent to rate the relative importance of each, and then selecting those distinctions with the highest ratings. Bech-Larsen and Nielsen also mention as an option, "*ranking and picking from a list of attributes that the researcher might provide*" (Bech-Larsen & Nielsen, 1999, cited in Manyiwa & Crawford, 2002:67). All of the latter approaches were considered less suitable, given that children tend to be eager to please (White, 1965), and may, therefore, give pre-defined distinctions more importance than they really feel them to have.

A study carried out by Roedder John (1999) examining children's categorisation of foods, demonstrated that triadic sorting can work successfully with young respondents. Using 4-10 year olds as her sample, she found that the children at the younger end of the spectrum, "*were more likely to sort on the basis of perceived features such as package colours, whereas older children used underlying features such as taste.*" (Roedder John, 1999, cited in Young, 2000:496). This result confirmed the general observation in developmental psychology that, "*young children categorise and classify on the basis of what they see whereas older children can use deeper more inferred properties in their mental operation.*" (Young, 2000:496). As we will see later [section 9.3, Coding and Analysis], the children interviewed for the author's research used both visual and inferred properties to sort brands.

Having elicited a number of constructs, the researcher proceeded to carry out the laddering part of the interview for the remainder of the time [thirty five to forty minutes]. The researcher used a 'soft' laddering approach, where the interviewer encourages a natural flow of speech, "*based on which the interviewer reconstructs ladders only after the interview*" (Grunert et al, 2001). It was felt that deeper insights into the respondents' values would be gained in this way, than would be gained by using a 'hard' laddering approach where respondents are forced to produce ladders one by one, where the natural flow of speech is lost.

According to Grunert & Grunert (1995), "*the 'soft' approach is potentially better in handling the types of problems on the respondent side caused by weak or elaborate cognitive structures.*" (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:216). A respondent's cognitive structure may be weak, "*due to low involvement and/or little experience with the product*" (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:217). As previously discussed [see section 4.1], although snacks provide a high degree of pleasure and affect, they are not a high risk purchase (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985), and could therefore be described as relatively low in involvement. This would make the 'soft' laddering approach most suitable. Equally, an elaborate cognitive structure, "*due to high involvement and much experience*" (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:217) also makes the 'soft' approach appropriate. As we have seen [see section 4.1], clothing falls into this high involvement category.

Clearly, with a 'soft' laddering approach, the researcher must take care not to introduce new biases due to interpretation, generalization, and increased cognitive processing on the interviewer side (Grunert & Grunert, 1995; Grunert et al, 2001). In addition, the interviewer may have to deal with 'forked' answers; that is, where several cognitive categories are retrieved at the same level of abstraction (Grunert et al, 2001). For example, a respondent may say that good taste is important because it makes her feel relaxed, it makes her family happy, and it shows that she is a good housekeeper. The best approach to this is to, "*record the various answers and continue to ladder from each answer one after the other.*" (Grunert et al, 2001:73).

The suggested question, *"Why is that important to you?"* (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988), was not considered a suitable probe, given the potential difficulty children have in dealing with the abstract, and given the tendency to 'blank out' when asked 'why?'. Instead, the researcher adopted a more concrete form of questioning; for example, *"What is it that you like about that?"* or, *"What's good about that?"*. This approach encouraged the interviewees to give quite specific responses. Taking each of the constructs [highlighted by the respondent as important] in turn, the researcher asked these questions repeatedly, until the interviewee could provide no further information.

Reynolds & Gutman (1988) suggest a variety of techniques to overcome any 'blocks' during the course of the interview, which proved useful with these young respondents. For instance, negative laddering: *"What would happen if the attribute or consequence was not delivered?"*. In the author's research, this was phrased as, *"What would be bad about not having that?"*, or, *"What would you wear/eat if you couldn't get something like that?"*. Reynolds & Gutman (1988) also suggest giving the question a situational context. This works particularly well with children, as they can relate better to concrete situations. For instance, respondents were asked, *"When/where do you normally eat/wear something like this? What did you like about it?"*, or, *"Think of the last time you wore/ate something like this? What did you like about it?"*.

Another useful suggestion was to move respondents backwards in time, to help them think through their motivations for choice. For example, *"Have you changed the kind of snacks/clothes you eat/wear compared to a few years ago? Why is that? Why do you eat/wear X now? What do you like about X now?"* ['Why?' questions did not seem to cause a problem when presented as supplementary to a more concrete question.] Asking respondents to think about a third person (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988) also proved relatively useful, as children often seem to find it easy to talk about their friends. For instance, *"Why do you think your friends eat/wear things like this? What do you think your friends like about things like this?"*.

The researcher attempted to add variety and interest to the snack brands interviews by taking along samples of each of the brands under discussion. This acted as effective stimulus material as respondents were invited to look at, touch and feel the packaging and product, as well as being given the opportunity to taste the latter. On closing the interview, respondents were asked if there was anything more they would like to add, and were thanked for their co-operation.

8.2 Sample

As discussed earlier [see sections 5 and 6], the author's research focuses on 11-12 year old Spanish and British girls. For the pilot study, twenty four one hour interviews were conducted in total, twelve with British girls and twelve with Spanish girls. It was felt that this number would be sufficient, given that, in qualitative research, adequacy and appropriateness of data are of greater concern than the number of subjects: it is the quality and quantity of data that will help ensure rigour (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). During the course of the twenty four interviews, the author found a high degree of repetition in the information obtained, confirming that some degree of 'saturation' had been reached. Clearly, it was important to match the British and Spanish samples as closely as possible, to ensure maximum comparability of results.

It has been suggested that recruiting children from suburban areas gives the closest possible match, as suburbs have certain similarities regardless of location [shopping malls etc.], and therefore provide a homogeneous middle ground (Guber & Berry, 1993). In keeping with the need to find children who represent a 'middle ground', children from BC socio-economic groups [and the Spanish equivalent] were deemed to be the most appropriate sample. It was also important to ensure that all children came from the same school year, as the child's experience changes significantly on moving to secondary school. The type of schools attended also needed to be matched as closely as possible [e.g. medium sized, non fee-paying].

While the author made every attempt to adhere to these general criteria fully for the full-scale fieldwork, certain limitations had to be managed when designing the pilot study. It was not possible to travel to Spain to recruit respondents, so, instead, a London based Spanish school was approached [Colegio Español Cañada Blanch, Notting Hill, W10]. Permission was given for the author to interview twelve 11-12 year old girls individually during their lunch break. While these respondents were certainly Spanish, it should be noted that they were more anglicised than typical Spanish children. Most had lived in England for less than a year, and some had an English as well as a Spanish parent. All, however, spoke fluent Spanish, and visited Spain regularly with their families. A further limitation was that the Spanish respondents were 'city girls' and did not therefore meet the 'suburban' criteria. In spite of the constraints identified, some interesting findings emerged, and the author was able to test the effectiveness of the laddering technique in Spanish. The British sample did meet the 'suburban' criteria, as the girls were recruited from Kingston and other parts of Surrey. Both Spanish and British respondents were in their first year of secondary school.

As well as the general criteria listed above, a set of more specific criteria was built into the recruitment questionnaire [see Appendix 4]. These criteria were used as 'checks' to ensure that all respondents would be articulate and forthcoming enough to participate effectively in the research. For example, the children were asked the following question, *"Imagine you are going on a non-stop, 10 hour, train journey. Which famous person, living or dead would you choose to take with you?"*. The potential respondents were also asked about their knowledge and consumption of, and interest in, snacks or clothing brands. This was to ensure a sufficient level of brand literacy and involvement with the categories to be researched. In the event, all children contacted were deemed capable of successfully taking part in the research. The author thus avoided any potential distortion in the findings that could be caused by recruiting a pre-selected sample. The British children were contacted by telephone through their parents, who were all required to give their permission for the child to participate in the research. Similarly, a letter was sent

to the Spanish girls' parents [via the Spanish school], which they were required to sign, to give permission for their daughter to take part in the research.

Given the limitations of the Spanish sample, it was felt that it would not be acceptable to use the data generated in these laddering interviews as part of the author's full-scale fieldwork. As the British sample, however, met all the necessary criteria, it was considered appropriate for the data generated in those twelve interviews to be used as part of the author's full-scale study. [See section 8.4 for further discussion of the suitability of the UK pilot sample for use in the full-scale fieldwork].

8.3 Initial Findings

The key objective of the pilot study was to determine whether laddering interviews could be successfully carried out with the 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls selected. The laddering interviews were, indeed, successful. Ladders ranged in length from 2 steps to 7 steps [see Appendices 5 - 8], and a fairly high proportion included all three elements of the means-end model, i.e. attributes, consequences and values. We can, therefore, assert that the means-end model is relevant and applicable to 11-12 year old consumers.

Proportion of Ladders Generated that Reach the Level of Values

Interviews with British girls, snacks brands:	33 out of 77 = 43%
Interviews with British girls, clothing brands:	44 out of 76 = 58%
Interviews with Spanish girls, snacks brands:	25 out of 63 = 40%
Interviews with Spanish girls, clothing brands:	30 out of 63 = 48%

This averages out at the generation of between 4 and 7 ladders which reach the values level, per respondent. Given that Reynolds & Gutman (1988) suggest that, in general, one can expect to identify 2-3 ladders from 75% of respondents, the

author considered the number of ladders elicited in this study to be quite satisfactory.

The following examples illustrate the type of ladders identified following the British girls' interviews on snack brands:

A = attributes, C = consequences, V = Values

Well-known brand [A] → friends like what I have [C] → can share with friend; swap with friend [C] → friends feel grateful [C] → have a crowd of people around you, and get lots of attention [C] → feel popular; have lots of people to talk to [C] → to have friends; not be alone [V: friendship and belonging]

Walkers crisps packets: size [A] → right amount to eat [C] → avoids eating too many [C] → avoids getting fat [C] → if you're fat people think you're not a nice girl; you're left on your own [V: [lack of] friendship and belonging]

Walkers Cheese n' Owen [A] → he's a good footballer; everyone likes him [C] → you and your friends can all talk about the same things, swap news [C] → can have stimulating conversations [C] → fun [V: fun and enjoyment]

Crunchy crisps [A] → makes a good sound [C] → can play games with friends making loud noises [C] → Fun [V: fun and enjoyment]

Having traced all the ladders in this way, the author then produced a summary list of direct and indirect relations between elements. These summary lists were then used to draw up implication matrices, which displayed the number of times each element led to each other element. Both direct and indirect relationships were shown, with the number of direct relationships appearing to the left of the decimal point, and the number of indirect relationships to the right of the decimal point. The implication matrices were then used to construct four separate Hierarchical Values Maps [HVMs], shown below: snacks, UK; clothing UK; snacks, Spain, and clothing, Spain.

Figure 10: HVM: Snacks, UK, Pilot Fieldwork

Hierarchical Value Map - Snacks, UK

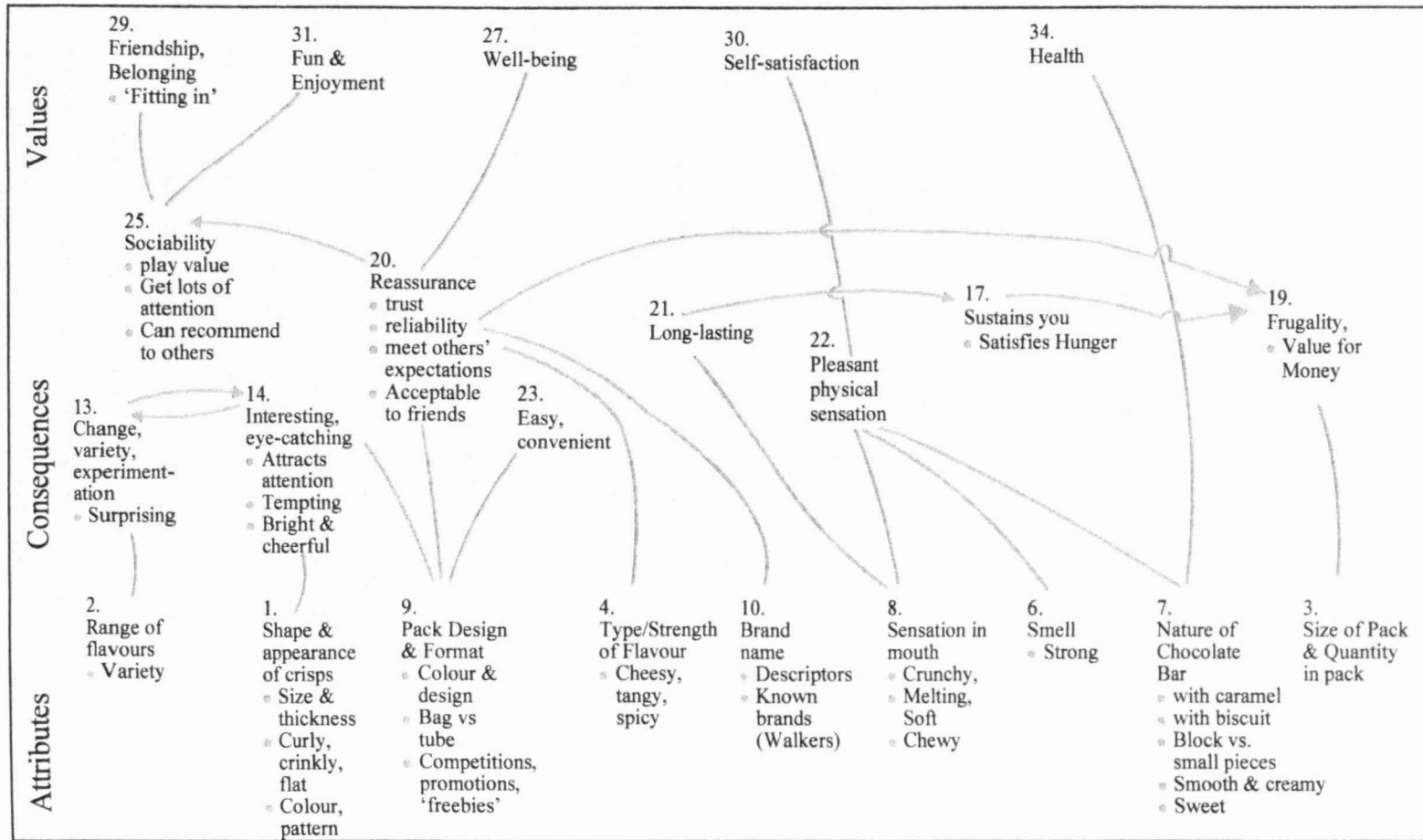


Figure 11: HVM: Clothes, UK, Pilot Fieldwork

Hierarchical Value Map: Clothes, UK

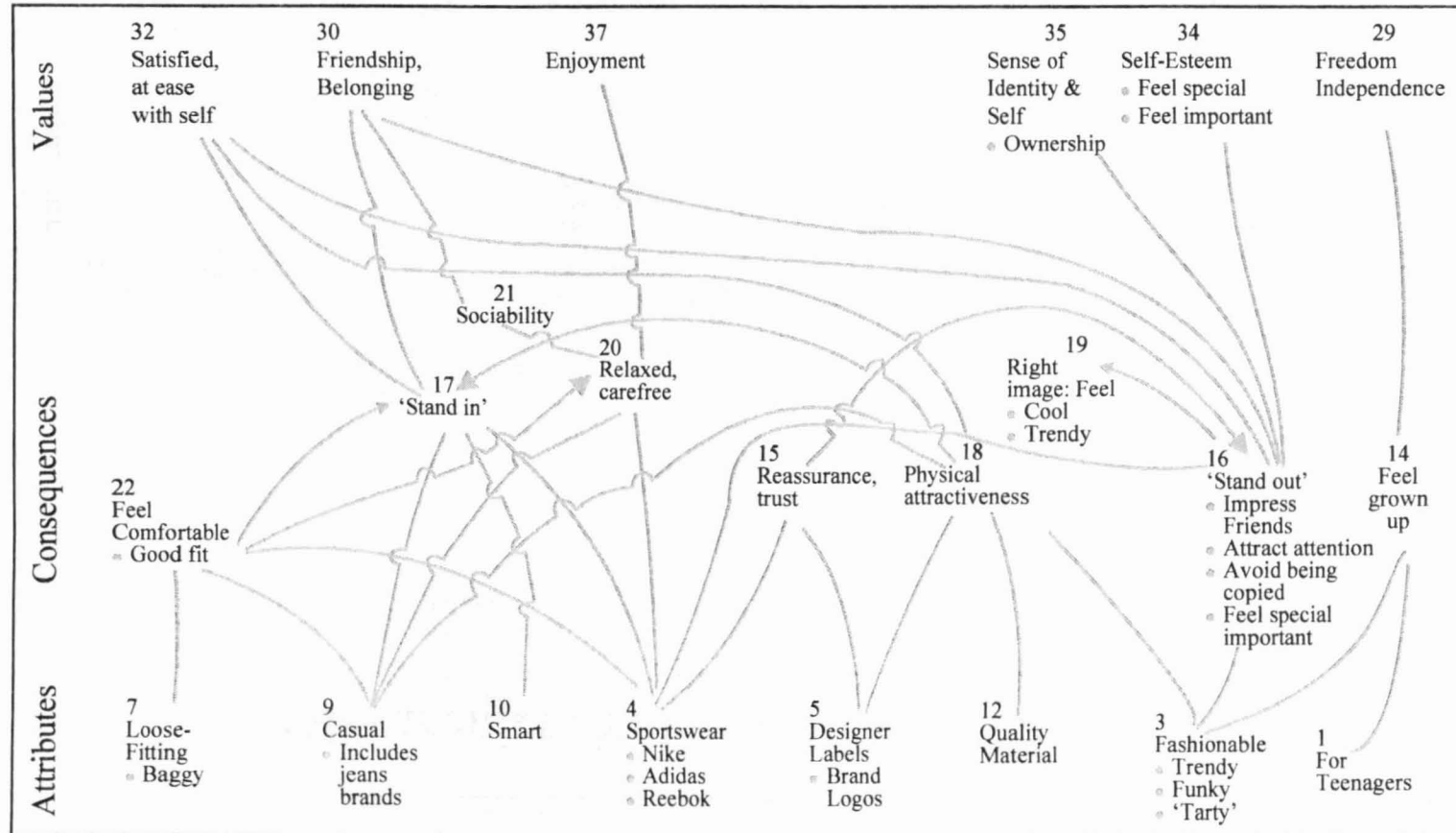


Figure 12: HVM:Snacks, Spain, Pilot Fieldwork

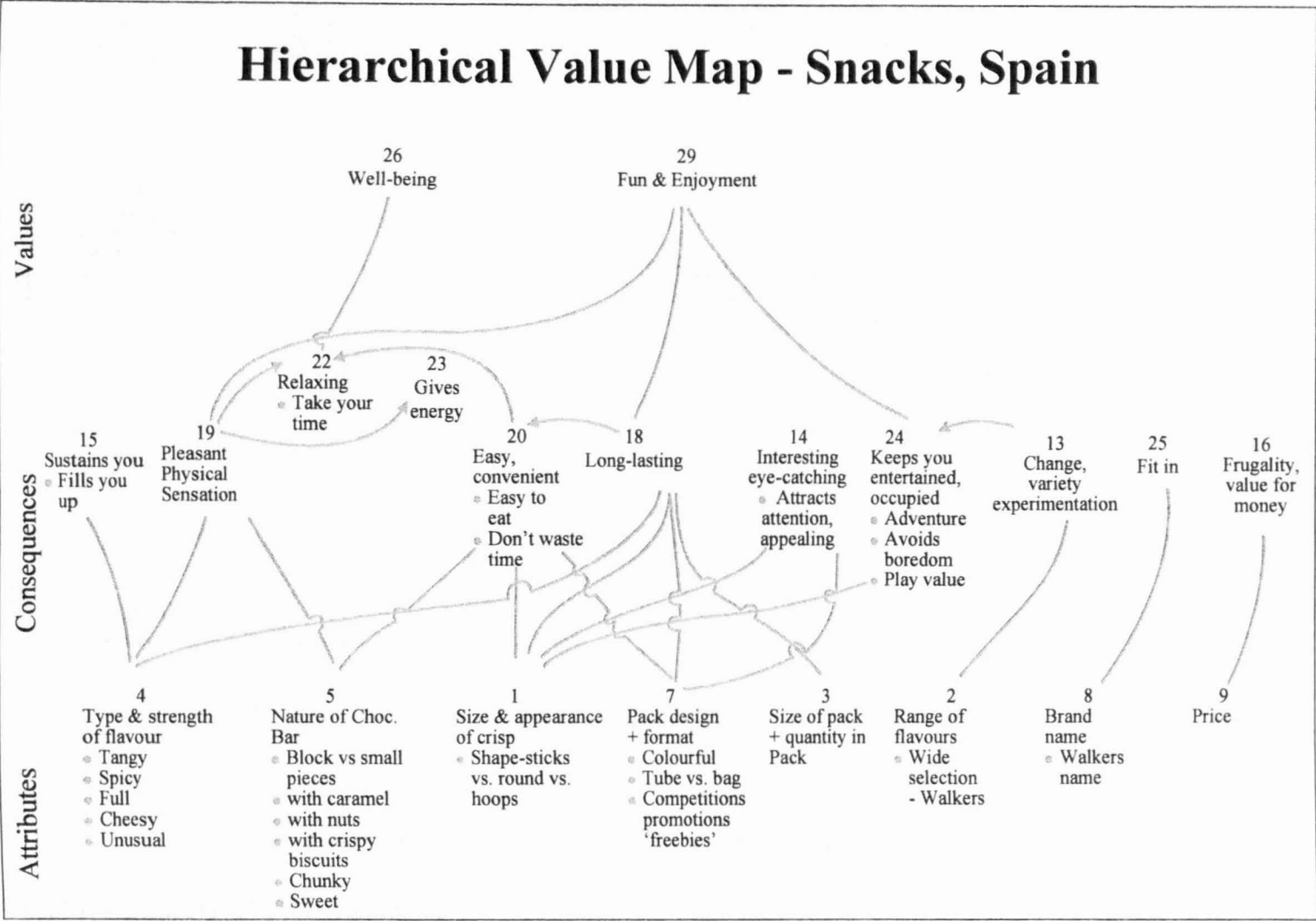
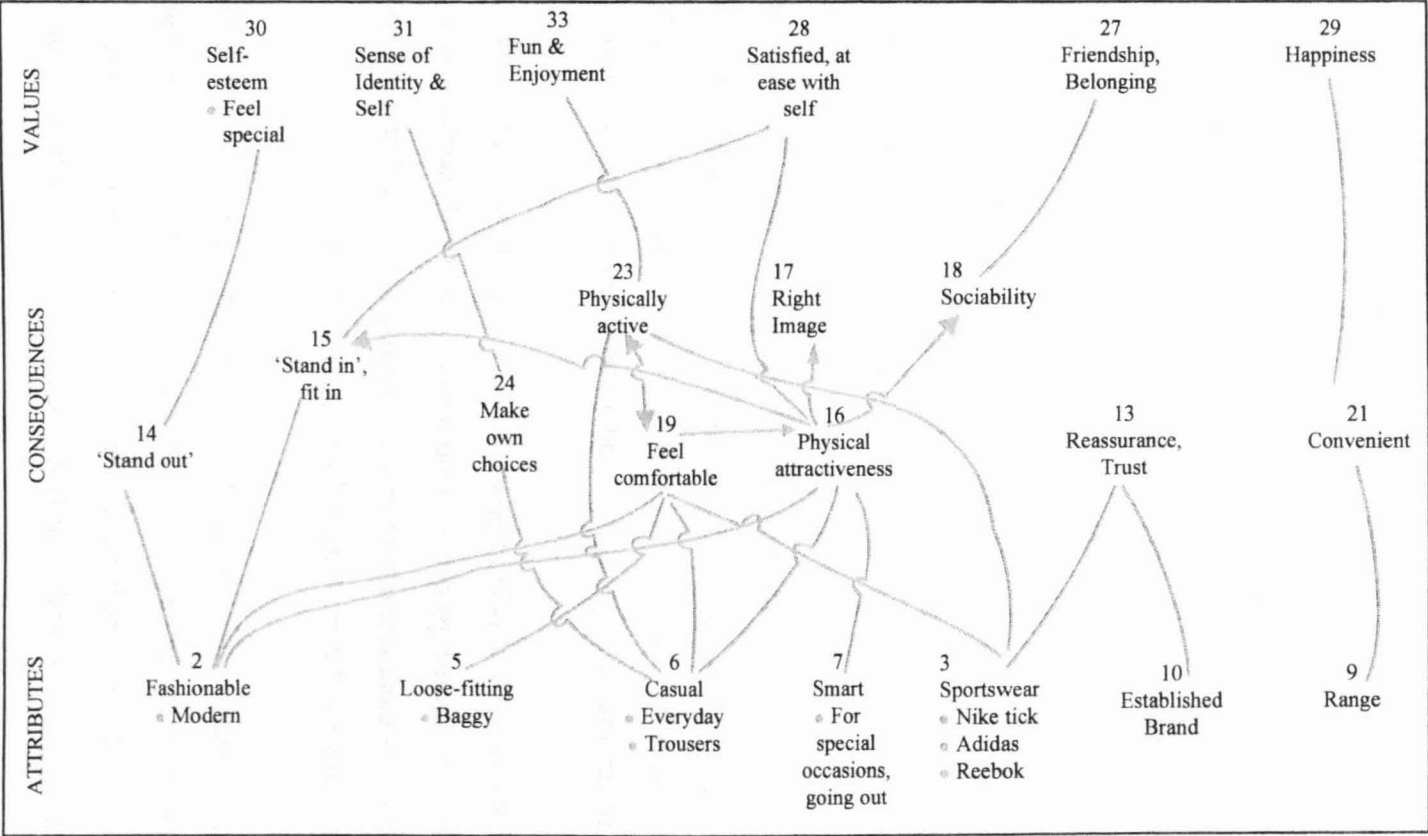


Figure 13: HVM: Clothes, Spain, Pilot Fieldwork

Hierarchical Value Map: Clothes, Spain



While the Implication Matrix allows the researcher to deconstruct individual respondents' ladders into their direct and indirect components, to construct the HVMs, 'chains' have to be reconstructed from the aggregate data. A HVM is a graphical representation of connections. It is a, *"structural, cognitive map, representing linkages or associations across levels of abstraction"* (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988).

The author examined each Implication Matrix, and all elements with two or more direct or indirect relationships between them were plotted on the HVM. For instance, the Implication Matrix for snacks brands [UK] [see Appendices 9 – 12 for Implication Matrices] shows that there are 8 direct relationships between attribute 10 [brand name] and consequence 20 [reassurance]. There are also 2 direct relationships between consequence 20 and consequence 25 [sociability], and 2 direct relationships between consequence 25 and value 29 [friendship and belonging]. This set of relationships: brand name [10] → reassurance [20] → sociability [25] → friendship and belonging [29], was then drawn onto the HVM. There may or may not have been one particular respondent who made all these specific linkages between the above elements [one would need to look back at the individual respondents' ladders to determine whether or not this were the case]; the fact that two or more relationships existed between each level meant that this aggregated ladder should appear on the HVM.

The complete HVM is built up in this way, considering all the linkages in the large matrix of relationships between elements. The HVM should represent the aggregated ladders in as clear and uncluttered a way as possible, and researchers are therefore advised to keep the crossing of lines to a minimum.

Having constructed the Hierarchical Values Maps, the author then highlighted the dominant perceptual orientations that appear on them; that is, the ladders with the strongest relationships between them. These are determined by looking back at the implication matrix, and identifying the attributes, consequences and values with the highest number of relationships between them.

Denzin & Lincoln highlight the need for, "*organized, compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and/or action taking*" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The Hierarchical Values Maps, along with the summary of dominant perceptual orientations, are an effective way of providing this clear, reduced data display, enabling the researcher to draw logical conclusions.

Figure 14: Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Snacks, UK, Pilot Fieldwork

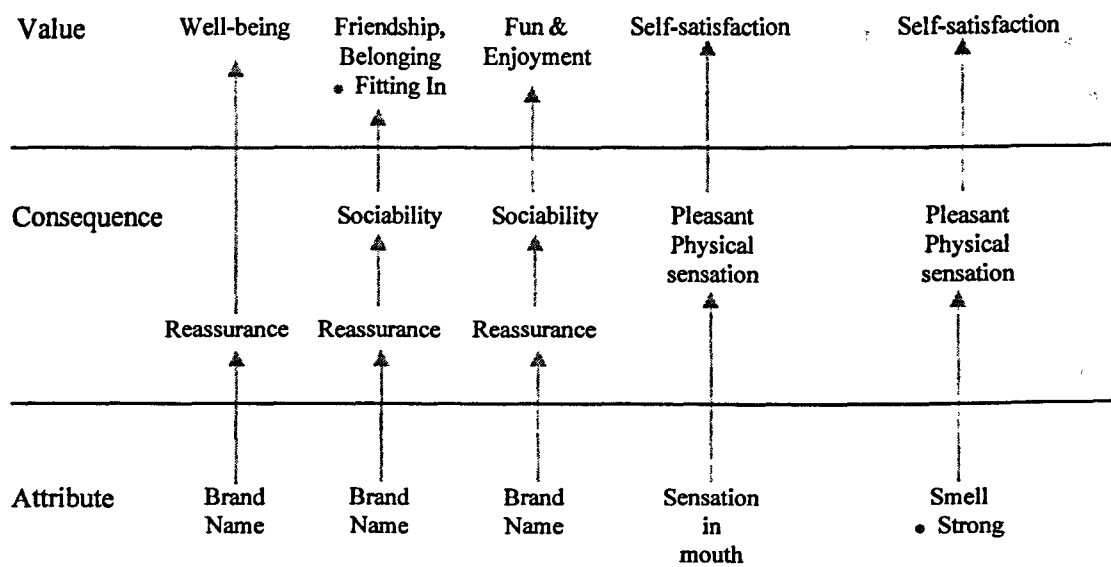
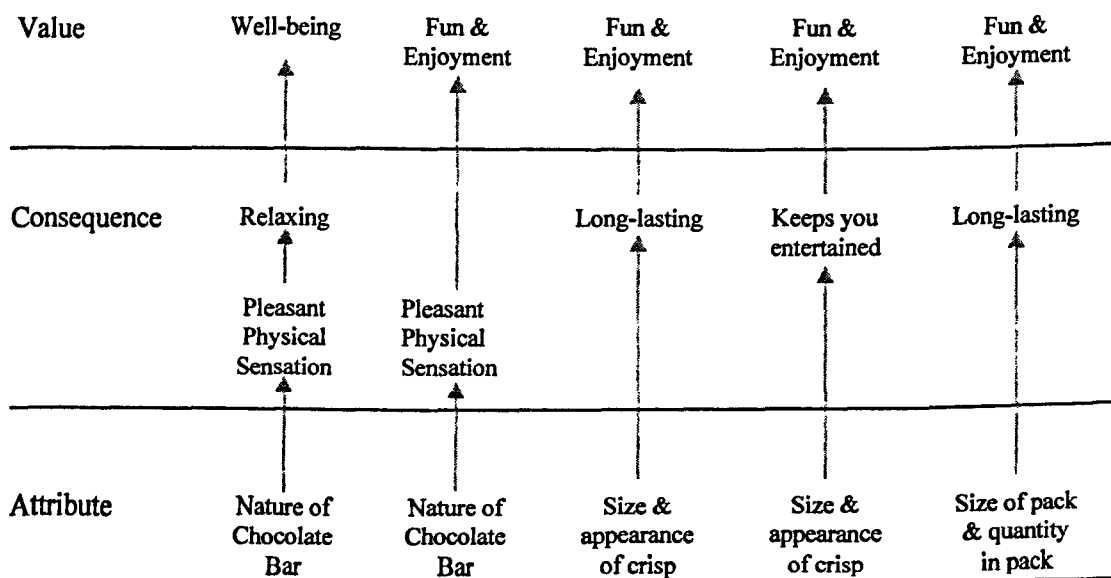


Figure 15: Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Snacks, Spain, Pilot Fieldwork



Fun and enjoyment and well-being clearly emerge as important values for both British and Spanish respondents, while, in addition, a sense of satisfaction with oneself, and a

desire for friendship and belonging emerge as important for the British girls. It will be interesting to see whether these values are also elicited in the full-scale fieldwork.

Figure 16: Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Clothes, UK, Pilot Fieldwork

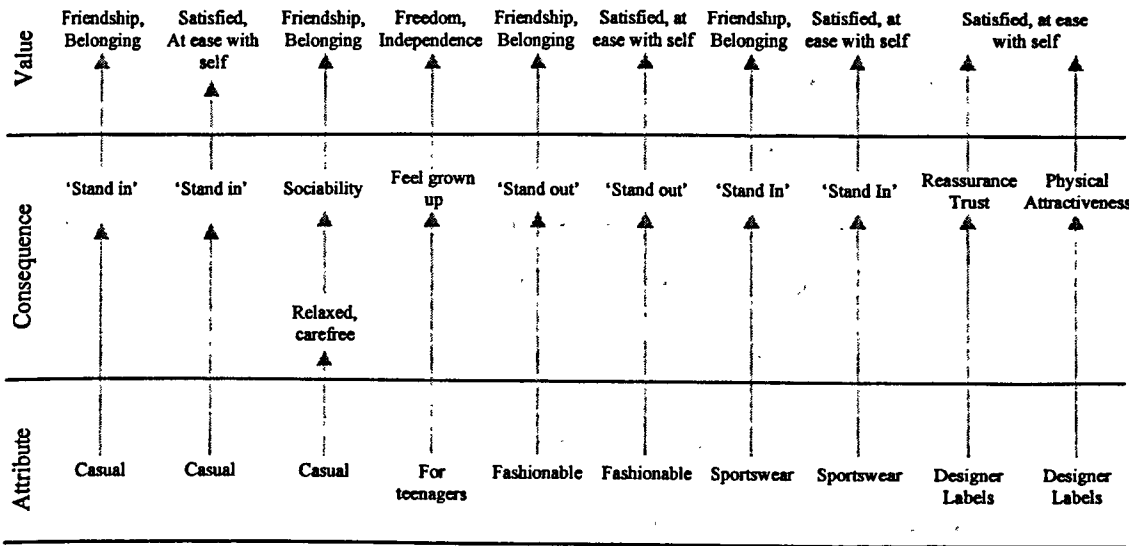
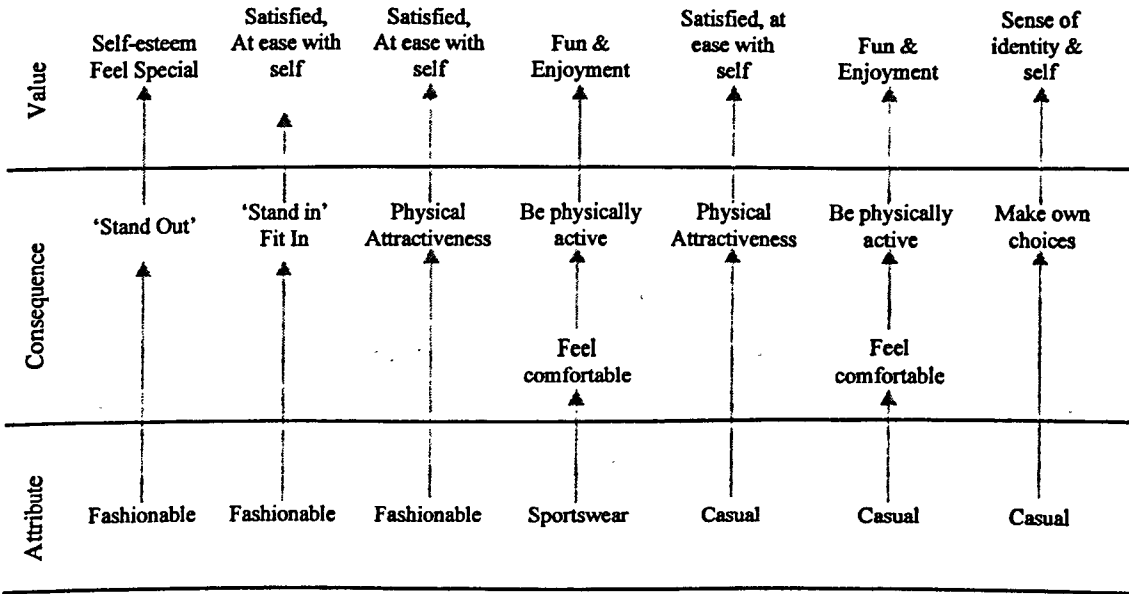


Figure 17: Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Clothes, Spain, Pilot Fieldwork



Being satisfied and at ease with oneself emerges as an important value for both the British and Spanish girls. For the Spanish girls, self-esteem, fun and enjoyment, and gaining a sense of identity and self are the other important values that are being satisfied. In the UK, however, friendship and belonging, and freedom and independence are elicited as the other dominant values. Again, it will be interesting to see whether these same findings emerge in the full-scale fieldwork.

The following data and analysis from the pilot study can be found as appendices:

- Brand sets used in interviews: Appendix 2
- Full lists of attributes, consequences and values generated, along with master content codes for each of these: Appendices 13 - 16
- All ladders elicited in the interviews: Appendices 5 - 8
- Summary of direct and indirect relations between elements: Appendices 17 - 20
- Summary implication matrices: Appendices 9 - 12

The author's approach and findings have been partially reported at conferences and in academic papers [see Appendix 1]. This has served to validate the author's approach in going on to design the full-scale research study, based on this pilot work.

8.4 Modifications to Approach Carried Out

While using the laddering technique in the pilot study, it became clear that the young age of the respondents presented certain challenges to the researcher, some of which have already been identified [see section 8.1 Methods]. The techniques suggested to overcome 'blocks' [e.g. give concrete scenarios and situations; make comparisons with the past etc.] proved to be very useful. The following example highlights the benefit of asking respondents to think about concrete situations:

Researcher

"[...] Can you tell me about different places where you would wear different clothes...?"

Respondent

"At discos you would wear, like, sparkly mini-dresses, to go to the park I would wear just some jeans and a jumper, going shopping you would wear, like, some flares and a polo neck or T-shirt [...]"

Researcher

"What is it that is good about wearing sparkly dresses at a disco?"

Respondent

"[...] because it sparkles and it shows you up, and you want to be shown up at a disco. I don't know why but, when you are out you don't want to [be noticed], but when you are having a disco with your friends, you don't mind if people think you look cool or whatever [...] it is good to be noticed because, it just is. People won't like you if you are out of things"

Researcher

"[...] How do you feel, then, when you are at a party, wearing a sparkly dress, and people don't leave you out of things."

Respondent

"It feels really good.[...] If I was noticed, the cool people would want to be next to me, whereas if I was, like, looking really boring and plain, all the cool people

would go together, and I would be left to go with the horrid people"

Interview 6, UK: Clothing

Asking the respondent to make comparisons with the past was also an effective technique. For example:

Researcher

"Do you think you've changed the type of clothing you wear, compared with a few years ago?"

Respondent

"Yes. I think I like more grown up clothes. Before I liked wearing skirts and dresses and that kind of thing to school, but now I prefer wearing trousers."

Researcher

"And why do you think this has changed?"

Respondent

"Well...as my body grows, so do my feelings and views on things. [...] Each one of my friends has her own taste. And it's not that if I, for example, buy a Nike jumper, all my friends have to go and buy a Nike jumper too. They buy the things they like, and the brands they like. It's important that everyone has their own taste"

Interview 4, Spain: Clothing

An additional challenge was that 11-12 year olds obviously have a more limited vocabulary than adults, and this led to frequent repetitions of the same word. The author found that appealing to the respondents' emotions to encourage them to expand

on points was a particularly effective way of eliciting a greater variety and richness of language. For example:

[The respondent has previously talked about the importance of having clothes that go together well]

Researcher

"Say you're wearing an outfit that you know goes together really well. How does that make you feel?"

Respondent

"Well, it makes me feel better than walking down the street in something that's sort of tacky and something that doesn't match at all. It makes me feel a lot better and it makes me feel more comfortable with myself."

Interview 10, UK: Clothing

A further challenge is how to deal with the boredom factor, and children's limited attention span. Some of the respondents found it difficult to concentrate on the subject for an hour, particularly given the repetitive nature of the questioning. The author attempted to overcome this by providing more stimulus material for the full-scale fieldwork. For example, providing product examples and pictures of clothing brands, as well as providing samples of snacks brands.

Another issue that emerged during the pilot study was that some of the respondents found the triadic sorting difficult. The author was aware that this might be problematic, given comments made in the psychology literature regarding use of repertory grid techniques with children (Salmon, 1976; Ravenette, 1977). To overcome this problem in the full-scale research, the author decided that, instead of simply asking, *"Which of these three brands do you think is the 'odd one out'?"*, it would be beneficial to build in a pre-stage to this triadic sorting. That is, to ask first of all, *"What do you know about brand X, Y and Z?"*, and only then to ask, *"Which one do you think is the 'odd one*

out'?". This would help the respondents to think through the different dimensions of each brand, which would then make it easier for them to select an 'odd one out'. A further solution, also used in the full-scale study, was to prompt respondents on the type of dimensions to think about in relation to each brand, for example, the look, feel, style, image, taste, shape, advertising, and packaging.

The author implemented this learning relating to triadic sorting as the pilot interviews progressed. The data was not, therefore, adversely affected by any difficulties with the triadic sorting process. The author had no concerns regarding the quality of data collected from her respondents and, given that the British sample met all the necessary criteria [see section 8.2], it was, therefore, possible to include this data from the twelve UK pilot interviews in her full-scale study. As discussed previously [see section 8.2], it was not possible to include data from the Spanish pilot interviews, given that these Spanish respondents were living in the UK and not in Spain.

The author also found that some of the respondents were fairly shy and embarrassed about speaking in an interview situation. The solution to this was, clearly, to make the tone and setting of the interview as informal as possible, and to give the respondents positive encouragement throughout, by being as warm and approachable as possible. Of course, the researcher must always be aware of the need to retain objectivity, but it is critical for the respondent to feel comfortable, in order to open up.

The author gained significant learning, then, from the design of the pilot study, from carrying it out, and from assessing the findings. This learning was extremely useful as the author moved on to design the full-scale empirical study. The research design for the full-scale fieldwork will be reported in the following section.

9. RESEARCH DESIGN: FULL-SCALE EMPIRICAL STUDY

In this section, we will describe, in some detail, the research design for the full-scale empirical study. The methods, sample, and coding and analysis will be outlined, but without repeating points made in the previous section. It is hoped that this detailed description of the process followed by the author, will give the reader a clear insight into exactly how this research has been carried out.

9.1 Methods

The methods used in the pilot study [see section 8.1] were replicated in the full-scale research, incorporating the modifications described above [see section 8.4]. It is not necessary, therefore, to describe these methods again. As previously mentioned [see section 8.2, Sample], data from the Spanish pilot interviews was not used in the full-scale study, but the data generated in the 12 UK pilot interviews was incorporated. Twenty two interviews were carried out with Spanish girls, and 12 additional interviews were carried out with British girls. In total then, the full-scale study consisted of 46 interviews: 22 with Spanish girls and 24 with British girls. [The researcher had planned to carry out 24 interviews with Spanish girls, but two of the chosen respondents were sick, and, therefore, were unable to take part in the research study]. Half the interviews focused on snacks brands, and half the interviews focused on clothing brands.

The brand sets used for the UK interviews were the same as those used in the pilot study [see Appendix 2]. A new brand set for each product category was generated for the Spanish interviews; these interviews were conducted in Spain, and many of the brands popular with British children were not familiar to the Spanish respondents. A list of the most popular snacks and clothing brands among Spanish 11-12 year olds was developed through discussions with academics, parents and children in Spain [Valencia, 2001] [see Appendix 21]. Interestingly, there was no overlap at all between the brands selected for the UK and Spanish snacks interviews, highlighting the local nature of the majority of

these brands. There was, however, a significant degree of overlap among the clothing brands used in each country's interviews. The following brands were discussed in both the Spanish and the UK interviews, emphasising the international nature of this product category:

Nike	Benetton
Adidas	Wrangler
Reebok	Giorgio Armani
Calvin Klein	Pepe
Levis	Lee
Naff Naff	

Other, locally popular brands were then added to each country's list. For the UK interviews these brands were: Gap, Caterpillar, Diesel, Joe Bloggs, Tammy Girl/Etam, New Look and C&A. For the Spanish interviews the brands added to the list were: Zara, Don Algodón, Amichi, Timberland, Mayoral, and Mango.

The interviewing process used in the pilot study, and described in section 8.1, was followed in this research. The triadic sorting exercise was modified, as described in section 8.4. That is, instead of simply asking, "*Which of these three brands do you think is the 'odd one out'?*", the researcher asked, first of all, "*What do you know about brand X, Y and Z?*". This made it easier for respondents to then select an 'odd one out'. If a respondent still found the exercise difficult, then she was prompted on the type of dimensions to think about in relation to each brand; for example, the look, feel, style, image, taste, shape, advertising, and packaging. By making the mental processes involved in triadic sorting overt in this way, many of the respondents seemed much more comfortable with the task.

9.2 Sample

As discussed earlier [see section 9.1], 46 interviews, in total, were used for the full-scale study. Of these interviews, 12 were UK interviews carried out at the pilot research stage [six interviews discussing snacks brands and six interviews discussing clothing brands]. It was felt that this number of interviews would be quite adequate, given the qualitative nature of the research. Moreover, the author already felt that some degree of saturation had been reached at the pilot stage, when only 24 interviews in total were carried out [see section 8.2 Sample].

Table 2: Interviews Carried Out

	UK	Spain	Total
Snacks Brand Interviews	12	10	22
Clothing Brand Interviews	12	12	24
	24	22	46

All respondents were 11-12 year old girls, and the UK and Spanish samples were matched as closely as possible, using the criteria discussed earlier: i.e. children came from a predominantly middle-class background [BC socio-economic groups], attended state schools, and were all in the same school year. The British girls all lived in London suburbs, while the Spanish girls lived in Valencia, a medium-sized Spanish city. While the Spanish girls were not, strictly speaking, 'suburban', the author felt that the range of shops and facilities available to both sets of respondents was sufficiently similar for this not to pose a problem: Kingston, Richmond and Valencia all have thriving commercial centres, so exposure to brands was likely to be relatively high in both cases.

Another aspect of the samples' background that it was not possible to match, was the exact nature of the schools from which respondents were recruited. 12 of the UK interviewees attended a single-sex, convent comprehensive school [Gumley House,

Isleworth], while all of the Spanish interviewees attended a mixed catholic state school. The two samples' exposure to and experience of the opposite sex may, therefore, have been slightly different. While the author felt that it was important to note this difference, she did not feel that it would have a significant bearing on the research results, given that all respondents had, until recently, attended mixed primary schools.

UK Sample

The sample consisted of the 12 girls interviewed for the pilot study. These girls were recruited from Kingston, Surrey and the surrounding suburban area. 12 additional girls were then recruited from an all-girls, convent comprehensive school in Isleworth, Middlesex, a West London suburb. As with the pilot study, permission was given for the girls to participate in the interviews by their teachers and parents.

Spanish Sample

22 girls were recruited from a mixed, catholic state school in Valencia, Spain. Again, permission was given for the girls to take part in the research study by their parents, and the Director of the school. In the case of both the English and the Spanish school, access was gained following correspondence by the author detailing the purpose of the research study, and enclosing a copy of the discussion guide [see Appendix 3: Discussion Guide, and Appendix 22: Letter to the Director of Instituto Luis Vives in Valencia].

9.3 Coding and Analysis

Having carried out all interviews, a detailed coding and analysis procedure was followed. The language and content of each individual interview transcript was examined. Responses were grouped into themes, individual ladders were identified and traced for each respondent, and, finally, the ladders were aggregated into a Hierarchical Values Map [HVM]. Separate HVMs were constructed for UK and Spanish

respondents, and for snacks and clothing brands. This allowed comparisons of preferences and motivations across the two cultures and across the two brand sets.

The first stage of analysis [grouping responses into themes] involved standard content analysis procedures (Kassarjian, 1977), and also took into account the different levels of abstraction in the interviewees' responses: themes were coded according to whether they were attributes, consequences or values. Identifying themes and giving them content codes allowed for data reduction, which, in turn, gave the researcher a clearer basis for thinking about the meanings of the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The author's analysis had many similarities with the typical inductive approach described by Miles & Huberman (1994): for example, noting patterns and themes, seeing plausibility, making initial, intuitive sense, clustering by conceptual grouping, and seeing connections and relationships.

Appendix 23 shows all the constructs or attributes identified from the British girls' interview transcripts, for snacks brands. This data was reduced by identifying 12 master content codes that encompassed all these attributes. These master content codes then had numbers assigned to them.

Master Content Codes For Attributes: UK Interviews, Snacks Brands

1. Shape and appearance of crisp
2. Range of flavours available [crisps]
3. Size of pack and quantity in pack
4. Type and strength of flavour [crisps]
5. Light vs. fattening/filling
6. Smell
7. Nature of chocolate bar: ingredients, taste [sweet etc.], small chunks, sticks, one block

8. Sensation in mouth
9. Pack design and format [e.g. use of heroes, promotions, competitions, colour, bag vs. tube]
10. Brand name [established, well-known, brands friends like, name that says what it is]
11. TV advertising
12. Price

In the same way, all consequences mentioned were noted down from the transcripts [see Appendix 23], and master content codes that these consequences could fit within were identified.

Master Content Codes For Consequences: UK Interviews, Snack Brands

13. Change, variety and experimentation
14. Interesting, eye-catching
15. Amusing
16. Excitement
17. Sustains you/fills you up
18. Avoid getting fat
19. Frugality/value for money/saves money
20. Reassurance
21. Long-lasting
22. Pleasant physical sensation
23. Easy, convenient

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Master Content Codes For Attributes: UK Interviews, Clothing Brands

1. For different age groups
2. Brands with accessories
3. Fashionable
4. Sportswear
5. Designer labels
6. Colourful
7. Loose-fitting/good fit/comfortable
8. Tight-fitting
9. Casual
10. Smart
11. Subtle, neutral
12. Quality material
13. Availability/ wide selection

Master Content Codes For Consequences: UK Interviews, Clothing Brands

14. Feel grown up
15. Reassurance and trust
16. 'Stand out': impress your friends, feel special and important
17. 'Stand in': fit in with your friends; look slim
18. Physical attractiveness
19. Right image

20. Relaxed and carefree
21. Sociability
22. Feel comfortable
23. Personal hygiene
24. Cheerful
25. Good service
26. Long-lasting
27. Convenient
28. Save money
29. Feel confident
30. Feel active, sporty
31. Feel protected
32. Express own taste

Master Content Codes For Values: UK Interviews, Clothing Brands

33. Freedom, independence
34. Friendship, 'fit in', sense of belonging
35. Security
36. Satisfied, at ease with oneself
37. Happiness
38. Self-esteem: feel important, feel special
39. Sense of identity and self [and ownership]
40. Well-being

41. Enjoyment
42. Sense of achievement

Master Content Codes For Attributes: Spanish Interviews, Snacks Brands

1. Shape and appearance of crisp
2. Range of flavours/snacks available [crisps]
3. Size of pack and quantity in pack
4. Type and strength of flavour
5. Light versus fattening/filling
6. Unpackaged/ unbranded snacks
7. Nature of non crisp snack: e.g. ingredients: chocolate and biscuit, custard, cream, two sticks versus one portion
8. Sensation in mouth, e.g. soft versus hard and crunchy
9. Pack design and format, e.g. use of heroes, promotions, competitions, colour
10. Brand name
11. Snacks for children
12. Snacks for different times of day

Master Content Codes For Consequences: Spanish Interviews, Snacks Brands

13. Change, variety, choice
14. Eye-catching
15. Amusing/ entertaining
16. Individual pleasure [i.e. respondent specifically mentioned that snack was enjoyed alone, or that snack was not spontaneously shared]

17. Sustains you/ fills you up
18. Avoid getting fat
19. Saves money, good value for money
20. Feel informed/ trust/ reassurance
21. Long-lasting
22. Pleasant sensation, taste
23. Convenient
24. Avoid being 'picked on'/ bullied/ teased
25. Sociability
26. Feel relaxed
27. A distraction/ occupies hands
28. Feel comfortable
29. Feel elegant

Wherever relevant, the same number codes have been used here as were used in the UK snacks research. The following four consequences were elicited in the UK snacks interviews, but not in these Spanish interviews: 16. Excitement; 24. Feel grown up; 27. Save time; 29. Feel lively. The following four consequences were elicited in the Spanish interviews, but not in the UK interviews [the 'spare' numbers from the UK interviews have been allocated to these consequences]: 16. Individual pleasure; 24. Avoid being 'picked on'; 27. A distraction/ occupies hands; 29. Feel elegant

Master Content Codes For Values: Spanish Interviews, Snacks Brands

30. Feel good/ well-being
31. Feel happy

32. Friendship and belonging
33. Good health
34. Fun and enjoyment

Master Content Codes For Attributes: Spanish Interviews, Clothing Brands

1. For different age groups
2. Well-known brands/ well advertised
3. Fashionable
4. Sportswear
5. Designer labels
6. Loose-fitting/ good fit/ comfortable
7. Casual
8. Smart, elegant, special
9. Quality material/ durable
10. Wide selection: sizes and/or styles
11. Good value for money

Other attributes mentioned, but with no ladders emerging: colourful, tight-fitting, feminine.

Master Content Codes For Consequences: Spanish Interviews, Clothing Brands

12. Save money
13. Express own taste
14. Feel grown up

15. Feel own age
16. Stand out
17. Fit in
18. Physical attractiveness
19. Right image
20. Feel proud, admired
21. Be popular
22. Feel comfortable
23. Useful
24. Feel good, cheerful
25. Avoid being criticised, teased
26. Long lasting
27. Convenient

Master Content Codes For Values: Spanish Interviews, Clothing Brands

28. Happiness
29. Friendship, belonging, fit in
30. Sense of identity, self and individuality
31. Sense of achievement
32. Self-esteem, feel good about self
33. Freedom, independence

The master content codes chosen had to be broad enough to include the responses of more than one respondent, but narrow enough to avoid loss of meaning (Reynolds &

Gutman, 1988). Coding can be a problematic area, and while the judgement of the individual coder is key, there have been calls to make the process “*more intersubjectively accessible*” (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:219; Grunert et al, 2001). Grunert & Grunert (1995) go on to say, “*having parallel coders is of course the most common recourse used in research practice.*” (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:219). In the author’s research study, a second, independent coder was used in all cases as a reliability check. In some cases the second coder used slightly different language to describe the codes [e.g. ‘help others’ versus ‘concern for others’], but, there was almost 100% agreement on the codes identified. Grunert & Grunert (1995) also suggest, “*drawing on tools in the realm of computer-assisted content analysis; [...] such procedures provide documentation for how the coding has proceeded, thus increasing the intersubjectivity of the process.*” (Grunert & Grunert, 1995:219). While the author did not use any computer-aided analysis, she recognises the potential benefits offered by this approach.

Ladders were then constructed for each respondent and the numbers of the relevant master codes noted beside each attribute, consequence or value [see Appendices 27 - 30]. Coding the ladders in this way, and examining the frequency of appearance of the same codes, served as a basis for determining the dominant pathways or connections between key elements. Ladders ranged in length from 2 steps to 7 steps. As shown, some of the respondents' ladders go no further than the level of consequences, but many do reach the higher level of personal values. For instance, 63 out of 133 ladders reach the values level in the British girls' interviews on snack brands [see Tables below].

Table 3: Number of Ladders Generated Per Respondent: UK

UK		
	SNACKS	CLOTHES
1st Set of Respondents		
R1	8	15
R2	12	13
R3	10	8
R4	12	9
R5	18	19
R6	17	12
TOTAL	77	76
2nd Set of Respondents		
R1	7	8
R2	12	11
R3	7	6
R4	9	8
R5	11	9
R6	10	11
TOTAL	56	53
GRAND TOTAL	133	129

NB: Respondents R1 – R6 for the snacks interviews are different to respondents R1 – R6 for the clothes interviews.

Table 4: Number of Ladders Generated Per Respondent: Spain

SPAIN		
	SNACKS	CLOTHES
R1	8	7 ^a
R2	11	8
R3	8	7
R4	7	5
R5	6	4
R6	10	6
R7	6	5
R8	9	7
R9	8	6
R10	11	9
R11	N/A	3
R12	N/A	6
TOTAL	84	73

NB: Respondents R1 – R12 for the snacks interviews are different to respondents R1 – R12 for the clothes interviews.

Table 5: Length of Ladders: Number of Steps

	Shortest Ladder	Longest Ladder
UK Snacks Interviews		
1st Set of Respondents	2	7
2nd Set of Respondents	2	5
UK Clothes Interviews		
1st Set of Respondents	2	7

2nd Set of Respondents	2	6
Spanish Snacks Interviews	2	5
Spanish Clothes Interviews	2	5

1st set of respondents refers to the 12 respondents interviewed for the pilot study; 2nd set of respondents refers to the 12 respondents interviewed during the full-scale fieldwork.

Attribute → Consequence or Value = a 2 step ladder.

Proportion of Ladders Generated that Reach the Level of Values

Interviews with British girls, snacks brands: 63 out of 133 = 47%

An average of 5.25 ladders per respondent reach the level of values.

Interviews with British girls, clothing brands: 78 out of 129 = 60%

An average of 6.5 ladders per respondent reach the level of values.

Interviews with Spanish girls, snacks brands: 47 out of 84 = 56%

An average of 4.7 ladders per respondent reach the level of values.

Interviews with Spanish girls, clothing brands: 26 out of 73 = 36%

An average of just over 2 ladders per respondent reach the level of values.

Reynolds & Gutman (1988) suggest that, in general, one can expect to identify 2-3 ladders from 75% of respondents. The above figures, therefore, show that the number of ladders elicited has been quite acceptable. For both product categories, fewer ladders were generated from the Spanish girls' interviews. This suggests that these respondents were a little less inclined than the British girls were to move from a discussion of attributes, to consequences, and then to values.

The following examples illustrate the types of ladders identified: A = attributes, C = consequences, V = Values. The codes used are shown in brackets:

Hula Hoop rings [A1: Shape and appearance] → it's fun to put them on your fingers, you can eat them off your fingers, you can do more with them, eat them bit by bit [C15: Amusing] → you can make a joke with your friends about it [C25: Sociability] → you can have fun [V34: Fun and enjoyment].

Respondent 5, UK Snacks Interviews

Lots of flavours available [A2: Range of flavours available] → you can have different savoury tastes; it gives you more variety [C13: Change, variety and experimentation] → it's good because you want different things on different days; you'd get bored if you had the same thing every day [C13: Change, variety and experimentation] → *"You feel happier; you can get on with your day better."* [V35: Happiness]

Respondent 1, UK Snacks Interviews

Fashionable clothes [A3: Fashionable]: → she has her own idea of what's fashionable [C32: Express own taste] → *"it's important that your clothes fit nicely and you feel they look nice on you* [C18: Physical attractiveness] → *"then you can relax"* [C22: Feel comfortable] → *"you think, 'right, I feel ready!'*, feel organised and ready to go, *"you feel like you can do anything in your clothes"*

[C29: Feel confident] → feel comfortable with yourself [V36: Satisfied, at ease with oneself].

Respondent 2, UK Clothes Interviews

Designer sports clothes: silky tracksuit bottoms [A4: Sportswear] → they're comfortable [C22: Feel comfortable] → *"the zip up makes it flary and natural; your legs feel airy, I don't have to worry about how I'm looking; it helps me feel I look okay"* [C18: Physical attractiveness] → *"it doesn't matter really what people say [...] you've got to feel comfortable in what you're wearing."* [C32: Express

own taste] → “the name isn’t important, so long as you feel comfortable and like what you’re wearing”; important to be yourself [V39: Sense of identity and self].

Respondent 4, UK Clothes Interviews

Cheesy taste and ketchup taste [crisps] [A4: Type and strength of flavour] → cheese has a subtle taste and ketchup is quite strong; it’s a nice taste [C22: Pleasant sensation, taste] → as well as being pleasurable, it satisfies a bit of hunger [C17: Sustains you, fills you up] → it leaves a nice taste in your mouth; spicy food leaves a fresh taste in your mouth like mint [C22: Pleasant sensation, taste] → it makes you feel good [V30: Feel good, well-being] → she likes to eat them all herself; only shares them with friends if they ask, “*Yo me las compro para comermelas, pero si alguien me las pide, yo le doy*” [“I buy them to eat them myself, but if someone asks me for some, I give them to him”] [C16: Individual pleasure] → makes me feel good [V30: Feel good, well-being].

Respondent 3, Spanish Snacks Interviews

Tins of olives, ‘mejillones’ [mussels] and ‘boquerones’ [anchovies] [A6: Unpackaged/ Unbranded snacks] → can eat them at home when friends come over, as ‘nibbles’ before the evening meal: “*A la vez que hablo con amigos, me entretengo comiendo. O a la vez que como, me entretengo hablando. Depende del hambre que tenga.*” [“At the same time as talking to my friends, I amuse myself by eating. Or at the same time as eating, I amuse myself talking. It depends on how hungry I am.”] [C15: Amusing/ entertaining] → it can be sociable [C25: Sociability] → it makes you feel good [V30: Feel good, well-being].

Respondent 3, Spanish Snacks Interviews

Well-known brands, e.g. Nike [A2: Well-known brands/ Well advertised] → people wear them because they like to stand out: “*Ropa de marca destaca mucho más que la ropa que es normal, sin marcas*” [“Branded clothes stand out much more than normal, unbranded clothes”] [C16: Stand out] → brands give you more prestige; if you wear branded goods people think you have lots of money

[C20: Feel proud, admired] → girls wear branded clothes, “*para gustar a los chicos*” [“*to please the boys*”] – to be popular [C21: Be popular] → people are attracted to each other because of the prestigious brands they wear: “*Ha habido casos que desde los siete años han estado siendo así, novietes... y los ha habido que hasta han tenido hijos [...] por las marcas [...] así que es posible por las marcas casarse*” [“*there have been cases where, from about seven years old, people have been going out together... and where they’ve even had children [...] because of brands [...] so it’s even possible to get married because of brands*”] Expensive brands can help girls to find husbands! [V29: Friendship, belonging, fit in].

Respondent 9, Spanish Clothes Interviews

Fashionable [A3: Fashionable] → she doesn’t want to be identical to other people, but it’s important not to stand out too much: “*Ir parecido a lo que se lleva ahora, pero no tampoco ir igual que los otros*” [“*To wear the kind of thing I’m wearing now, but not to look exactly the same as everyone else*”: the respondent was wearing typical, fashionable jeans and top, similar to her school-friends [C17: Fit in] → it’s important to dress appropriately for different situations [for example, if you go to a party where you’re expected to wear a dress, then that is what you wear] [C19: Right image] → feel good about yourself, feel better [V32: Self esteem, feel good about self].

Respondent 4, Spanish Clothes Interviews

After identifying all the ladders in this way, the summary list of direct and indirect relations between elements, and then the Implication Matrices were produced, as described in section 8.3. Direct and indirect relationships between elements were shown on the Implication Matrices, with the number of direct relationships appearing to the left of the decimal point, and the number of indirect relationships appearing to the right of the decimal point [see Appendices 31 - 38].

Reynolds & Gutman (1988) highlight two acceptable options when counting the number of relationships between elements: the researcher can either count every mention of a

relationship among elements that an individual respondent makes, or, alternatively, count a relationship only once for a particular respondent, no matter how many times that respondent mentions it. The author decided to count the relationship only once to avoid a disproportionately strong weighting being given to one particular relationship due to repeated mentions by one interviewee.

As in the pilot study, the Implication Matrices were then used to construct four separate Hierarchical Values Maps [HVMs]: snacks, UK; clothing, UK; snacks, Spain, and clothing, Spain [see section 10.1]. As described in section 8.3, 'chains' are reconstructed from the aggregate data, and linkages across levels of abstraction are shown (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). It is necessary to find an appropriate 'cut-off' level when looking at the number of relationships shown on the Implication Matrix, in order to construct the HVM. In Bagozzi & Dabholkar's (2000) laddering study which evaluated attitudes to ex-President Clinton, a cut-off level of three or four mentions per linkage was used to construct the Hierarchical Values Maps. As these authors say: *"The objective is to make the cut-off level as low as possible to achieve a result approaching desirable idiographic properties and interpretability, yet not yield a map so large and cluttered to be incomprehensible. There is thus a trade-off between comprehensiveness and parsimony."* (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000:550).

The researcher must decide on the percentage of all relations that it is acceptable to show on the HVM. Reynolds & Gutman (2001) suggest that a figure approaching two-thirds of relations is quite adequate: *"It is typical that a cut-off of 4 relations with 50 respondents and 125 ladders will account for as many as two thirds of all relations among elements."* (Reynolds & Gutman, 2001:45). Gengler & Reynolds (2001), however, assert that the researcher should represent a greater number of relations on the HVM: *"The finished HVM must represent a significant number of the associations derived from the raw laddering data [...] the minimum threshold value should never be less than 70% with an average number typically in the 75% to 85% range. To represent any smaller % can cause valuable insights to be lost."* (Gengler & Reynolds, 2001:131).

Reynolds & Gutman (2001) suggest showing different cut-off levels on the HVM. They comment that: *“The use of multiple cut-offs permits the researcher to evaluate several solutions, choosing the one that appears to be the most informative and most stable set of relations [...] in establishing a cut-off level, one may count only the direct linkages in any cell, or one may count the total number of linkages, direct or indirect”* (Reynolds & Gutman, 2001:45). The author decided to count both direct and indirect linkages, as it was felt that, otherwise, some significant relationships might be overlooked.

Taking all these points into account, the author has represented cut-off levels of two, three, and four or more direct or indirect relations between elements, on the HVMs. Using these cut-off levels, the following proportion of relationships between elements is shown:

UK Snacks Interviews

Two or more direct or indirect relations:	279 out of 394 relations in total = 71%
Three or more direct or indirect relations:	185 out of 394 relations in total = 47%
Four or more direct or indirect relations:	123 out of 394 relations in total = 31%

UK Clothes Interviews

Two or more direct or indirect relations:	388 out of 537 relations in total = 72%
Three or more direct or indirect relations:	312 out of 537 relations in total = 58%
Four or more direct or indirect relations:	255 out of 537 relations in total = 47%

Spanish Snacks Interviews

Two or more direct or indirect relations:	219 out of 277 relations in total = 79%
Three or more direct or indirect relations:	179 out of 277 relations in total = 65%
Four or more direct or indirect relations:	149 out of 277 relations in total = 54%

Spanish Clothes Interviews

Two or more direct or indirect relations:	187 out of 253 relations in total = 74%
Three or more direct or indirect relations:	132 out of 253 relations in total = 52%
Four or more direct or indirect relations:	90 out of 253 relations in total = 36%

The spread of responses was much greater in the UK research than in the Spanish research. In the UK research, there was a large number of attributes, consequences, and values with only one or two relations between them. The author feels that, in the case of the UK interviews, the HVMs representing three or more, or four or more relations, are, in fact, more revealing than the HVMs showing two or more relations, even though a smaller proportion of the total relations are represented. The HVMs representing three or four or more relations clearly show all the dominant perceptual orientations, while the representation of many infrequently occurring relations makes the HVM's meaning more difficult to distinguish. The author felt, however, that it was important to show the three different cut-off levels, so that the different options could be scrutinised.

Having constructed the HVMs, as in the pilot study, the author then highlighted the ladders with the strongest relationships between them; that is, the dominant perceptual orientations [see section 10.1, below]. As previously described [see section 8.3], these are determined by looking back at the Implication Matrix, and identifying the attributes, consequences, and values with the highest number of relationships between them. Together then, the HVMs and the dominant perceptual orientations provide us with a clear and accessible representation of the key data, which allows us to draw logical conclusions about the meanings embedded in the interviews carried out.

Now that the author has, she hopes, shed some light on the methods, sample, and process of coding and analysis used in this research, we are ready to move on to a discussion of the main research findings. These findings will be presented in the following section.

10. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The author will begin this section by presenting the Hierarchical Values Maps constructed, following analysis of the laddering interviews. The author will also present the dominant perceptual orientations, to enable the reader to see, at a glance, the strongest ladders to emerge from this research study. A table summarising some key differences between the two countries and product categories will then be included. Having presented these diagrams and charts, the author will move on to discuss the research findings in detail.

The author will begin with methodological findings, and will then discuss the personal values satisfied by snacks and clothing brands, in the UK and Spain. Following this, new insights on values feeding back into means-end theory and the values literature will be highlighted. The author will then move on to discuss the role and importance of snacks and clothing brands in both markets, and will subsequently discuss the relationship between consumption/brands and one's sense of self. Findings relating to involvement levels in snacks and clothing brands, for each country, will then be presented. The section will conclude with a discussion of the implications that the author's findings have for both marketing managers, and those involved in forming public policy.

Figure 18

Hierarchical Values Map : Snacks, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

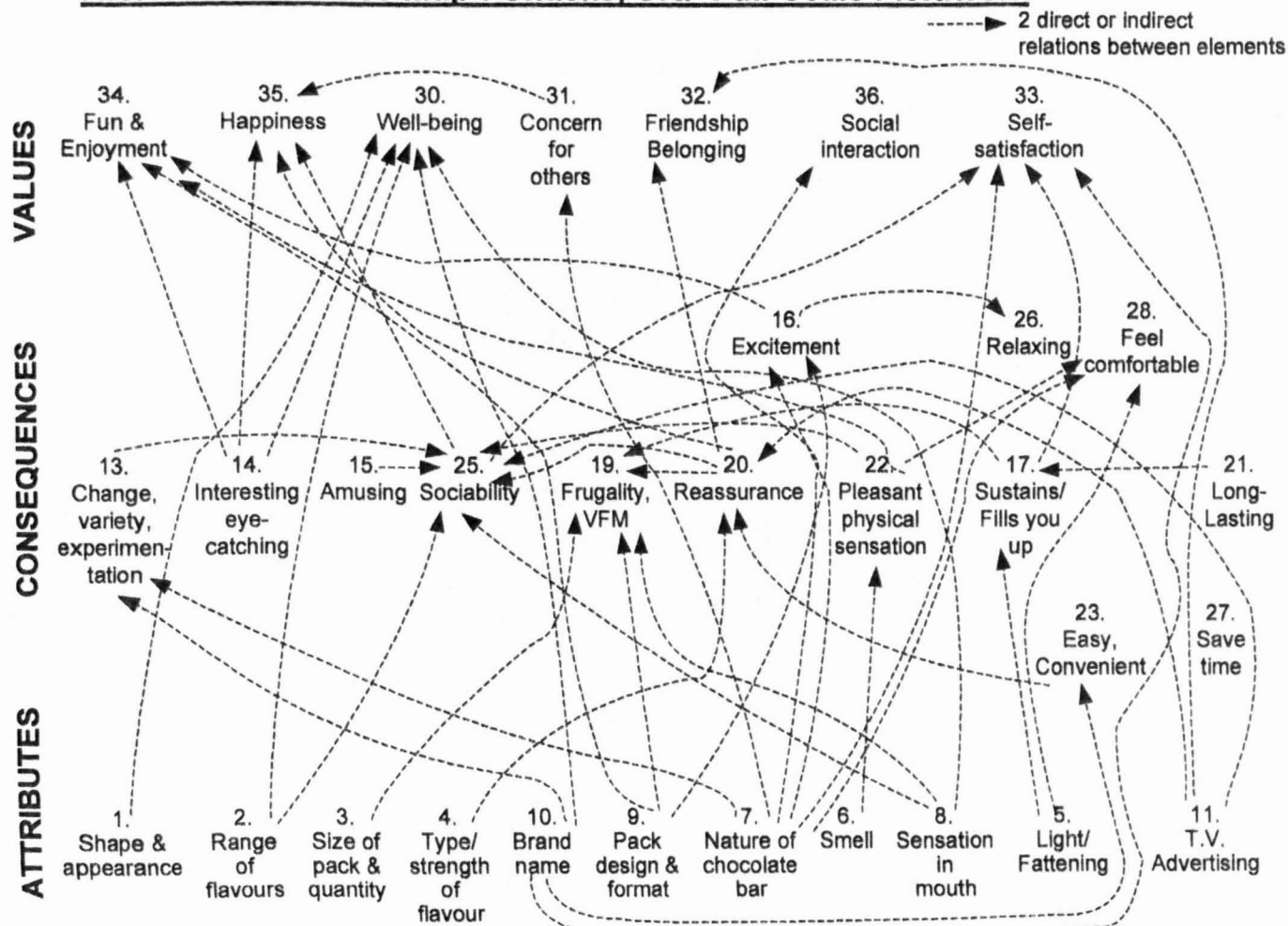


Figure 19

Hierarchical Values Map : Snacks, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

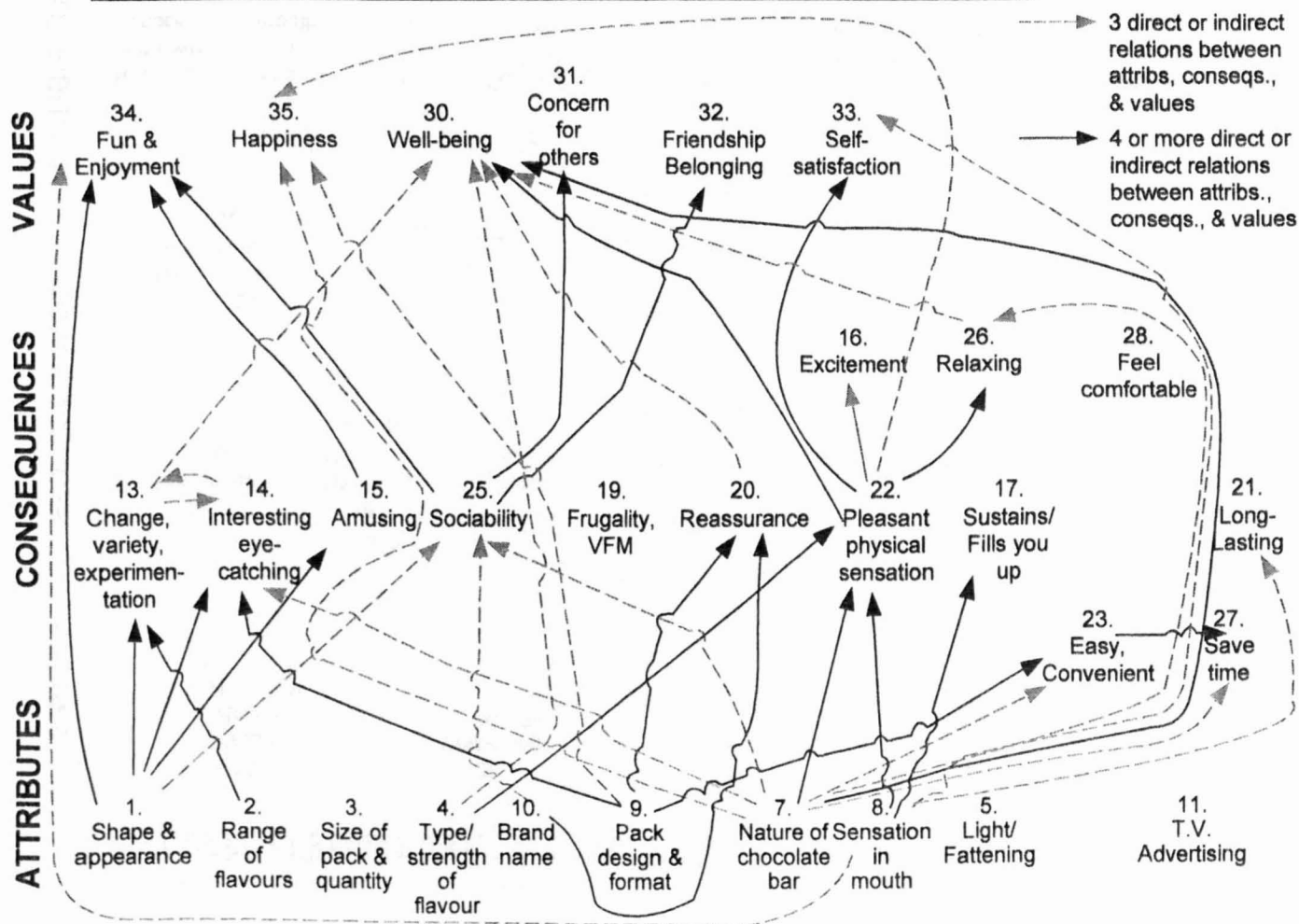


Figure 20

Hierarchical Values Map : Snacks, Spain. Full-Scale Fieldwork

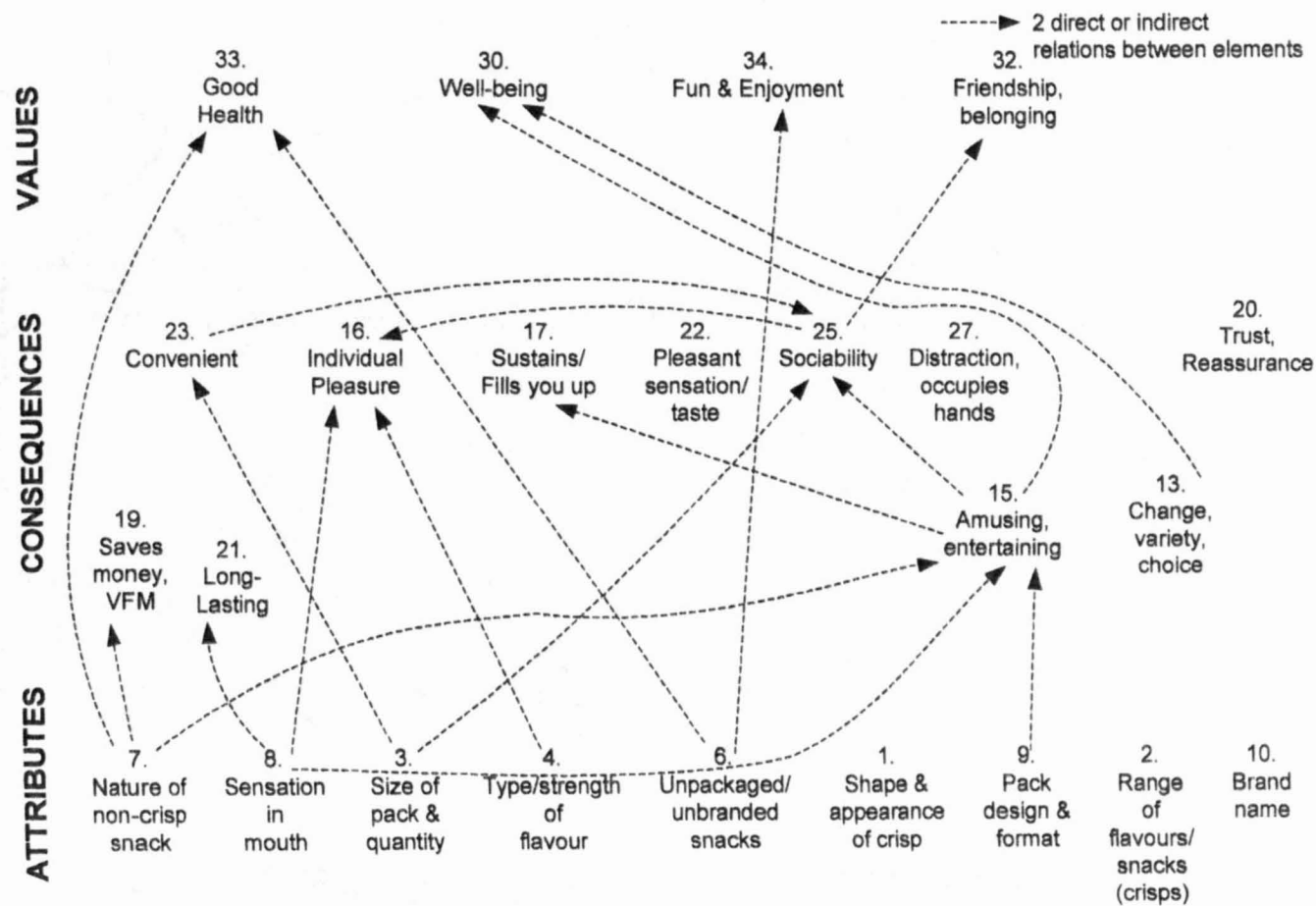


Figure 21

Hierarchical Values Map : Snacks, Spain. Full-Scale Fieldwork

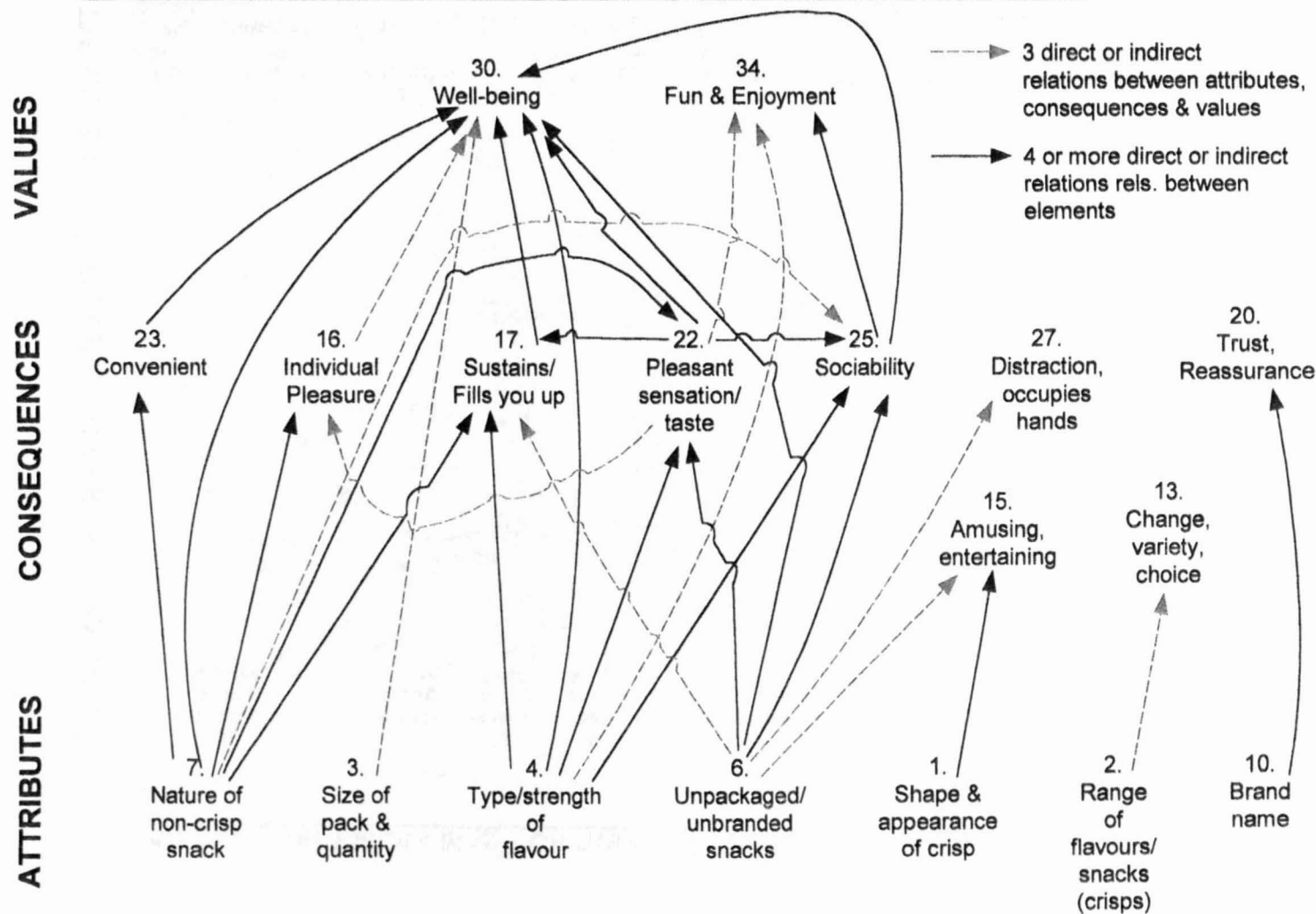


Figure 22

Hierarchical Values Map : Clothes, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

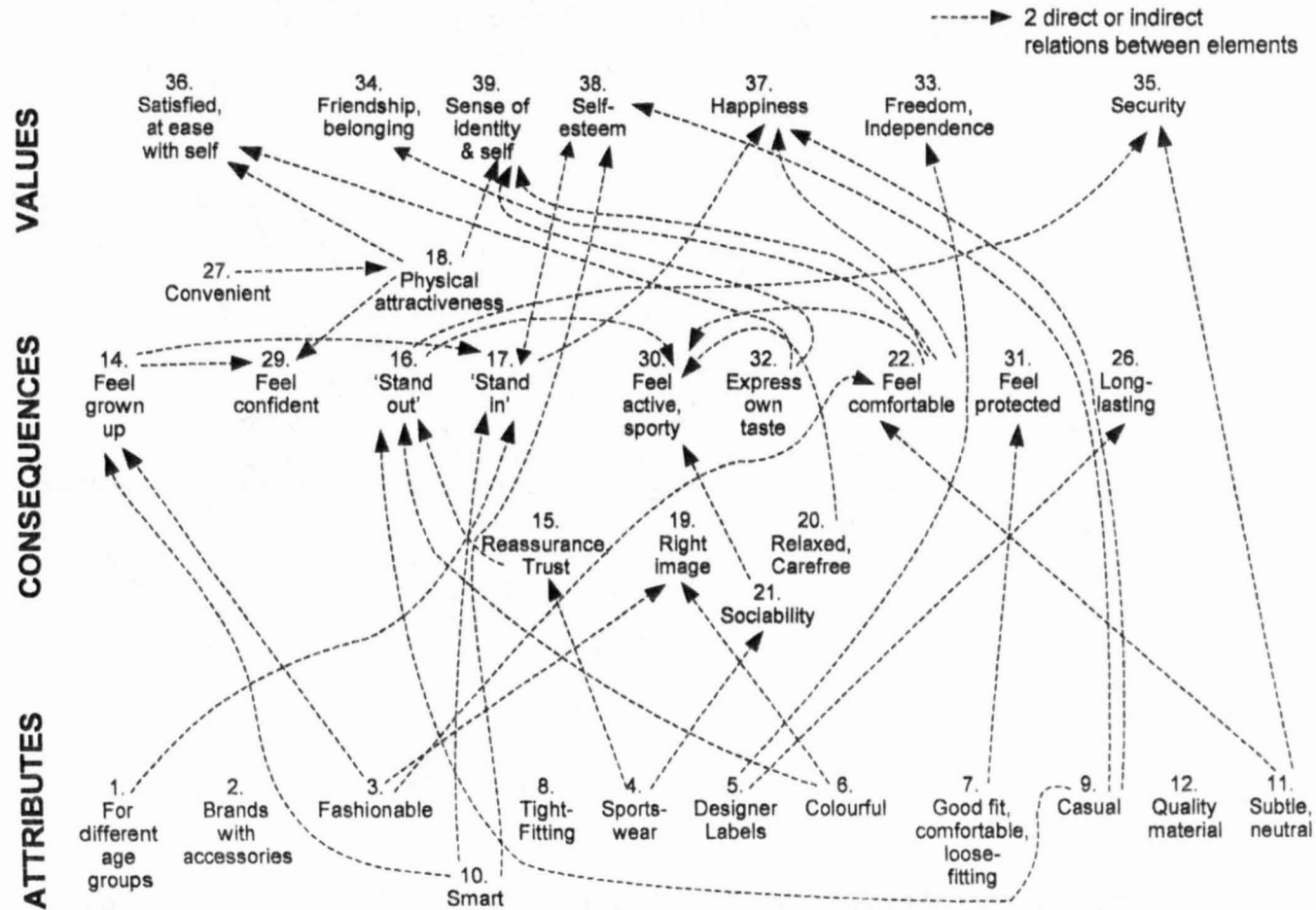


Figure 23

Hierarchical Values Map : Clothes, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

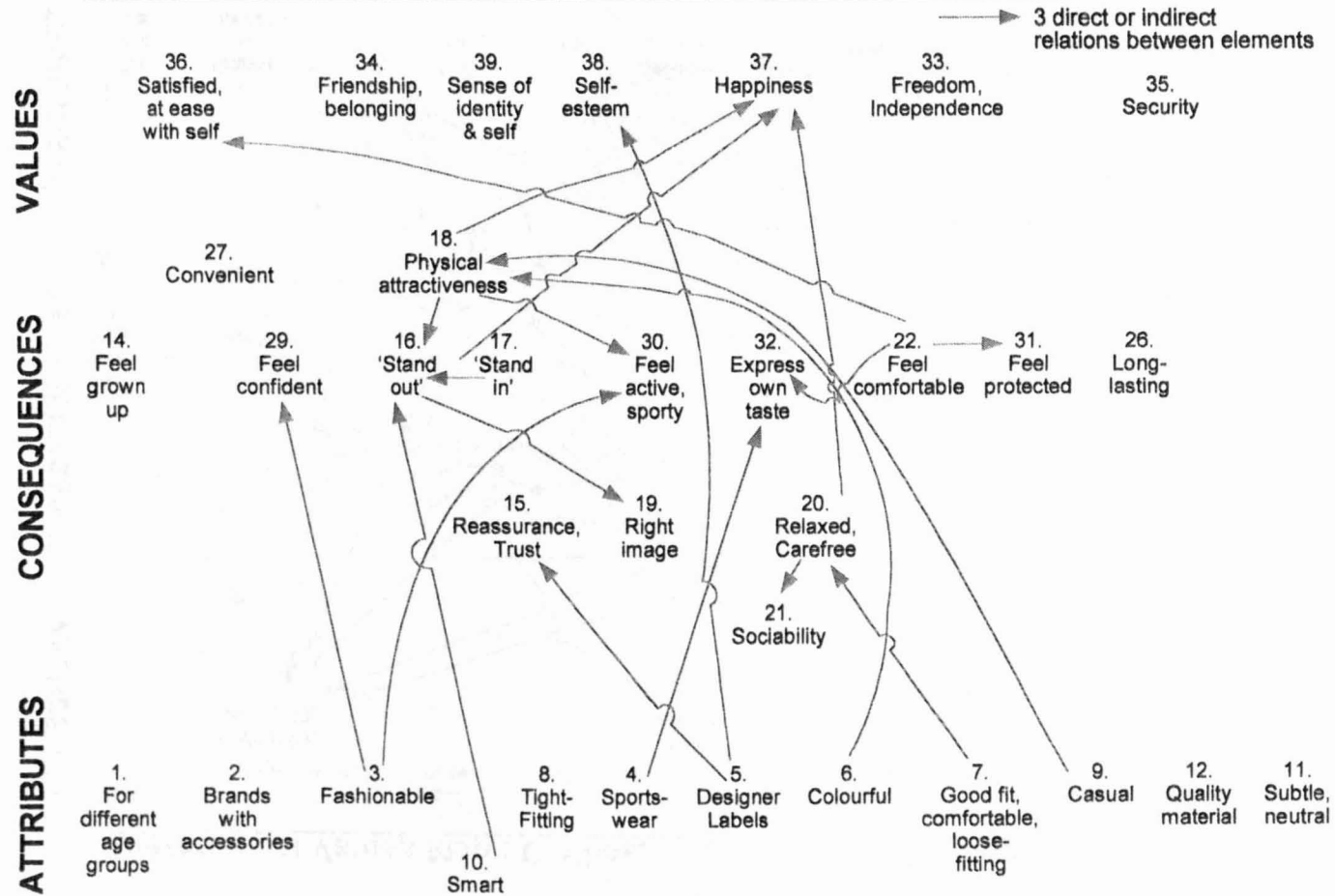


Figure 24

Hierarchical Values Map : Clothes, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

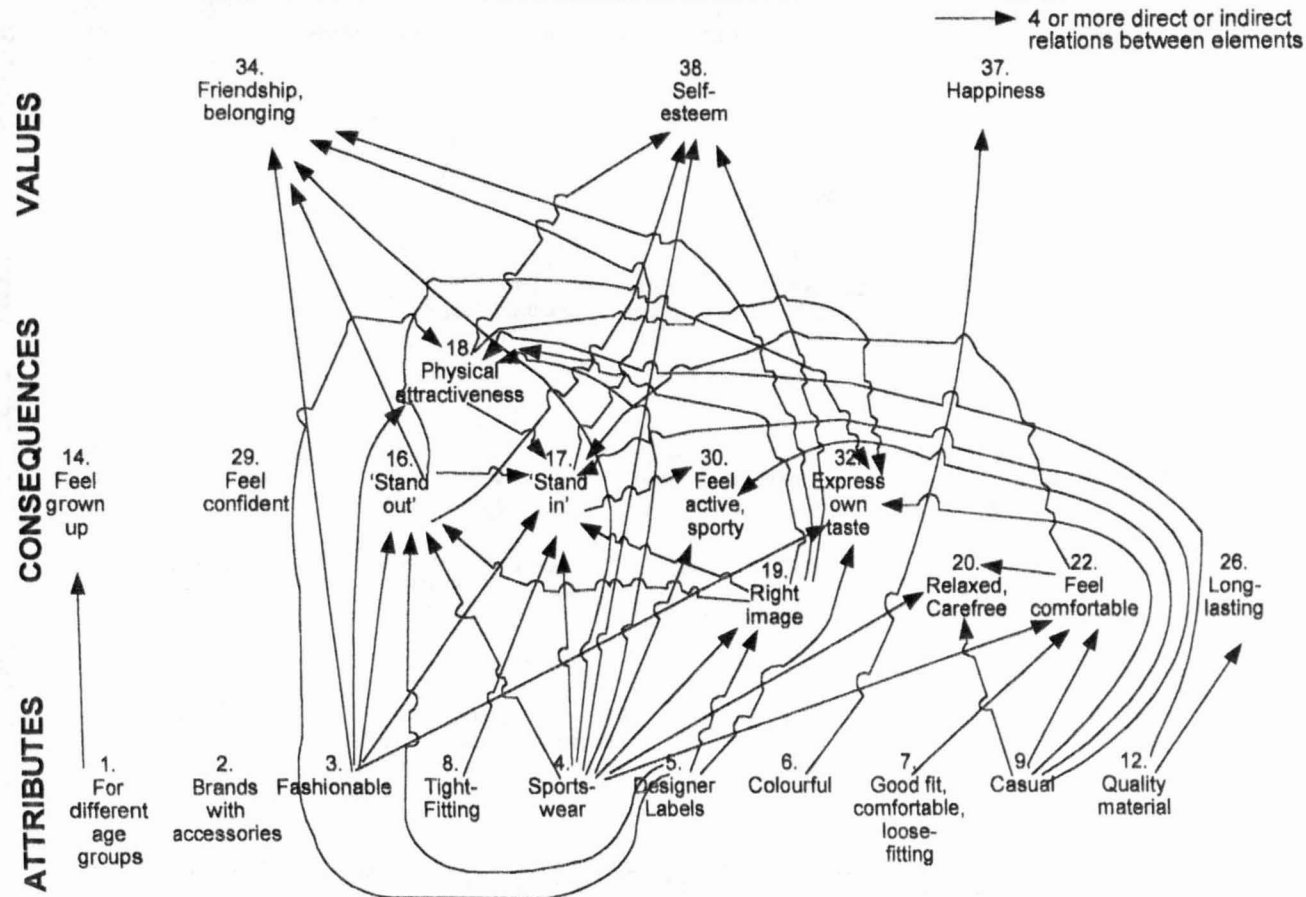


Figure 25

Hierarchical Values Map : Clothes, Spain. Full-Scale Fieldwork

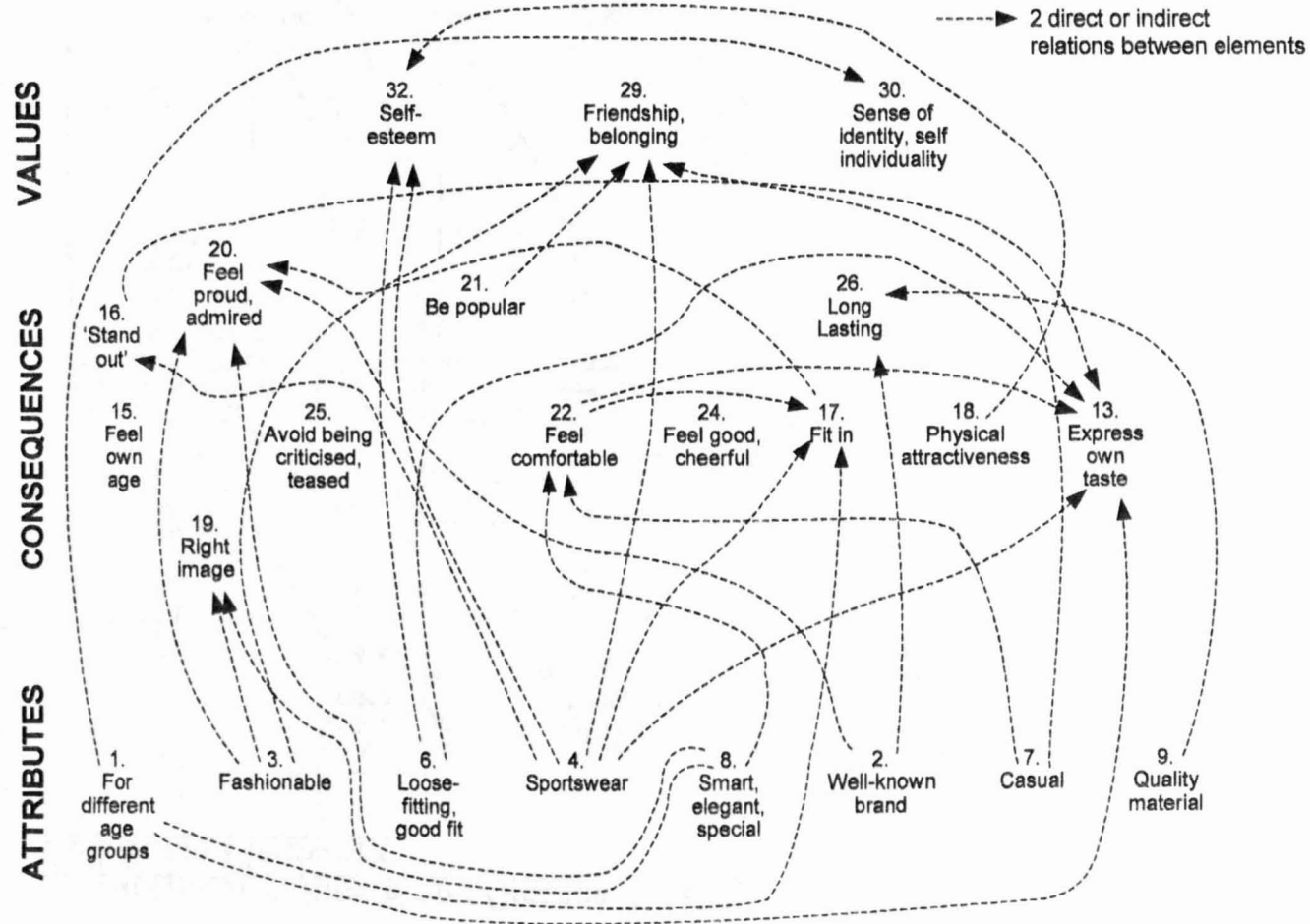


Figure 26

Hierarchical Values Map : Clothes, Spain.
Full-Scale Fieldwork

→ 4 or more direct or indirect relations between attributes, consequences & values 2001
 - - - 3 direct or indirect rels shown in blue

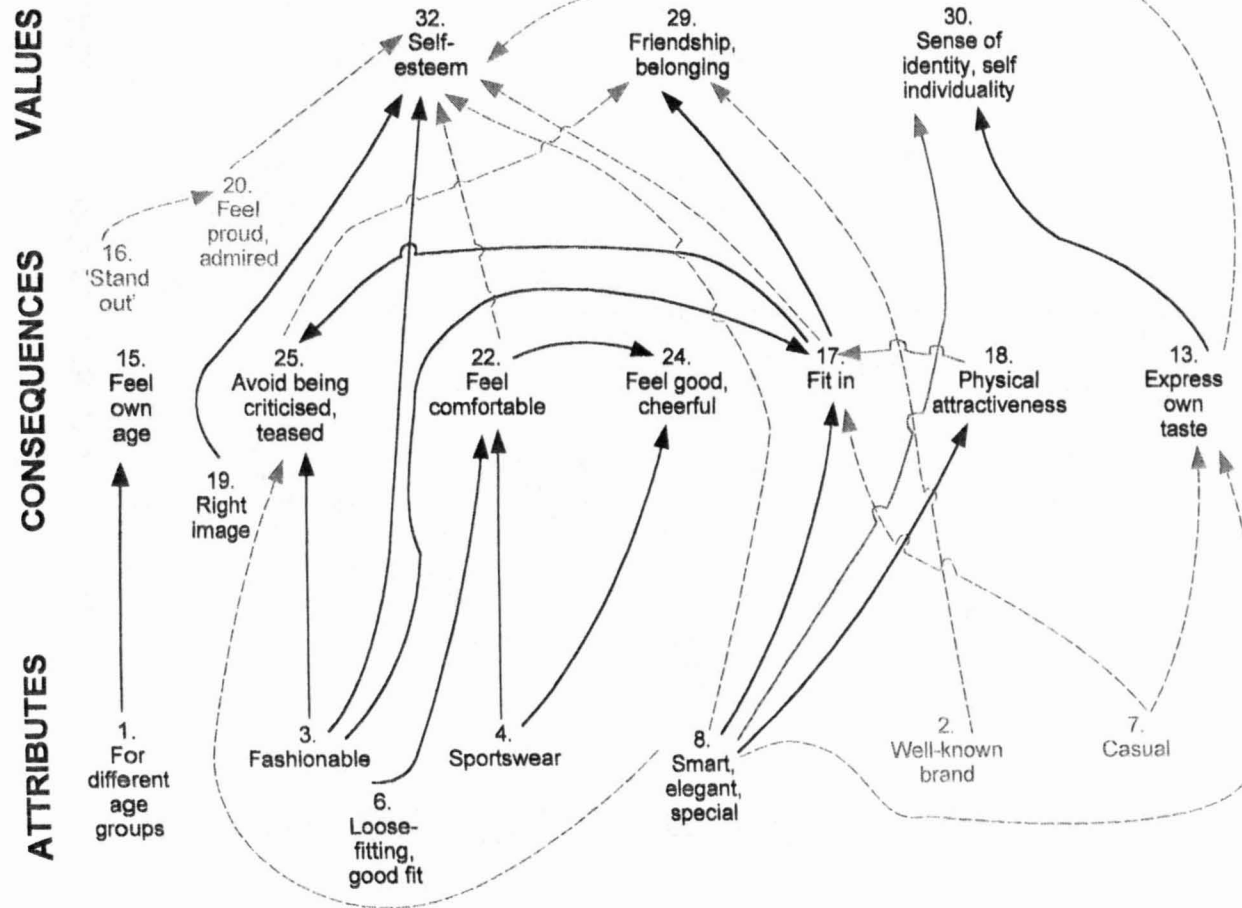
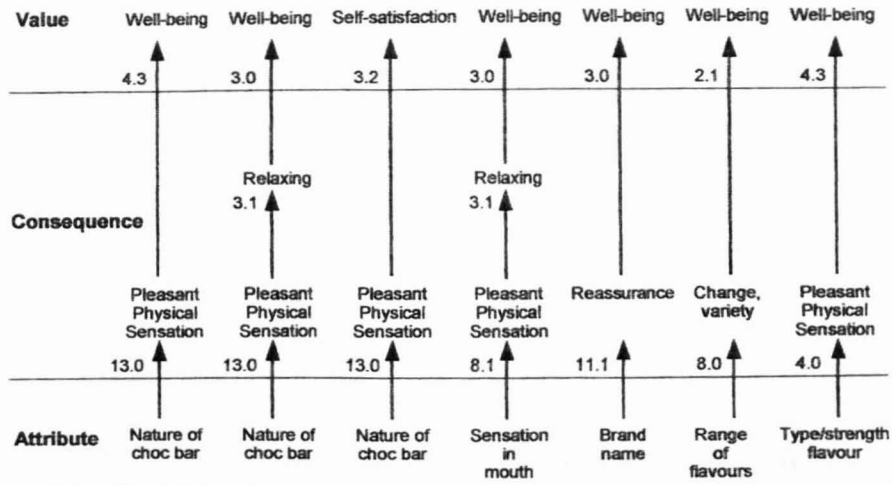


Figure 27

Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Snacks, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

The 6 most dominant perceptual orientations are shown; 7 are shown where 2 ladders have the same number of relationships between elements



N.B. Numbers shown represent the numbers of relationships between the attributes, consequences & values. Numbers shown to the left of the decimal point = direct relationships. Numbers shown to the right of the decimal point = indirect relationships.

Figure 28

Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Snacks, Spain. Full-Scale Fieldwork

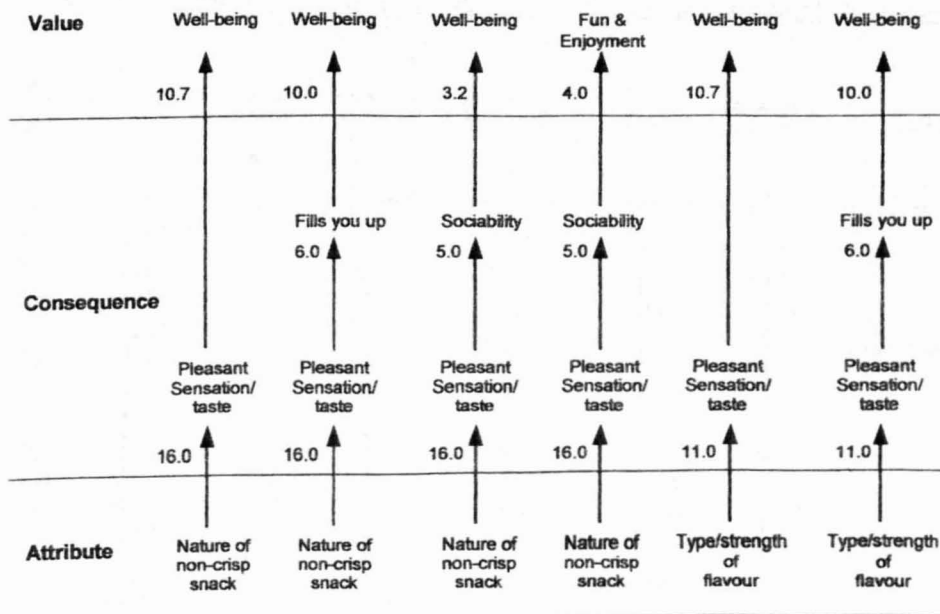


Figure 29

Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Clothes, UK. Full-Scale Fieldwork

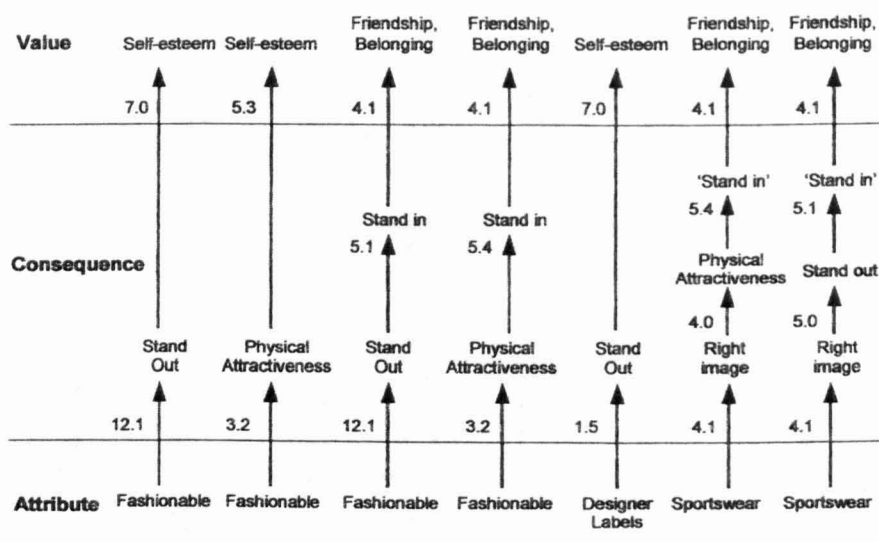


Figure 30

Dominant Perceptual Orientations: Clothes, Spain. Full-Scale Fieldwork

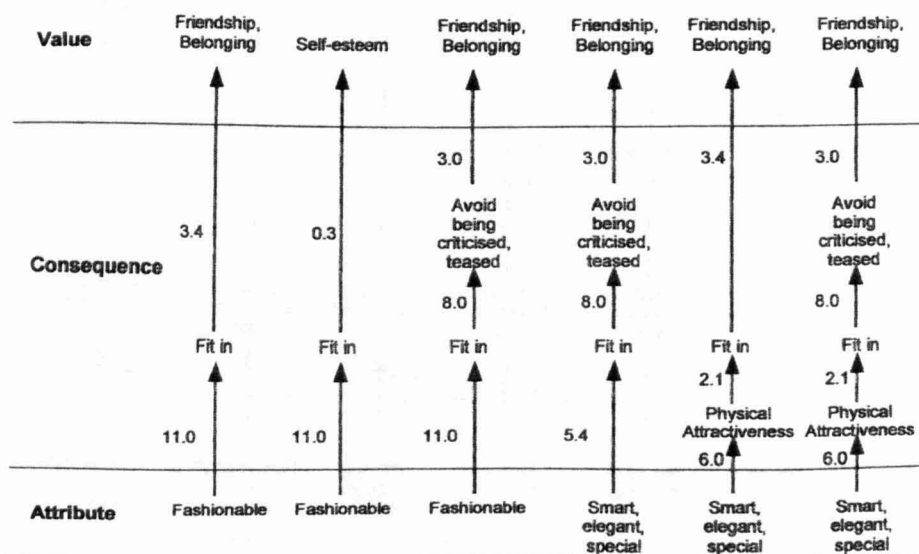


Table 6

Comparative Analysis Based on HVMs

	UK	SPAIN
CLOTHING	Key Values Satisfied	Key Values Satisfied
	① Friendship & belonging ② Self-esteem	① Friendship & belonging ② Self-esteem ③ Sense of identity, self, individuality
	Type of Attribute Identified as Important	Type of Attribute Identified as Important
	How clothes look/image (e.g. fashionable, sporty, designer), Quality level (e.g. designer). How clothes feel (e.g. comfortable, loose, tight), clothes for different occasions (e.g. casual) & age groups.	How clothes look/image (fashionable, sportswear, smart). How clothes feel (e.g. good fit). Clothes for different occasions (e.g. casual, special) & age groups. Well known brand also mentioned.
	Type of Consequences Identified as Important	Type of Consequences Identified as Important
	How clothes make you feel (e.g. attractive, confident, comfortable, relaxed), allowing you to fit in and/or express individuality. More interest in designer labels than in Spanish interviews.	How clothes make you feel (e.g. comfortable, attractive, cheerful), allowing you to fit in/have right image, & express own taste. Avoiding criticism/teasing is important, as is not copying others & standing out (little)
	Needs Satisfied: Utilitarian or Emotional/Psychological	Needs Satisfied: Utilitarian or Emotional/Psychological
SNACKS	Emotional & psychological needs very important. Utilitarian needs also identified as important, e.g. comfort, long-lasting	Emotional & psychological needs are most important. Some utilitarian needs expressed e.g. feel comfortable.
	Key Values Satisfied	Key Values Satisfied
	① Well-being ② Self-satisfaction	① Well-being ② Fun & enjoyment
	Type of Attribute Identified as Important	Type of Attribute Identified as Important
	How snacks look (shape, appearance), taste (flavour, sensation in mouth) brand name	How snacks look, their taste & ingredients. Branded or un-branded, a far higher proportion of snacks are unbranded in Spain.
SNACKS	Type of Consequences Identified as Important	Type of Consequences Identified as Important
	How snacks make you feel, e.g. excited, relaxed. Physical consequences, e.g. filling physical sensation; psychological consequences, e.g. reassurance, sociability; utilitarian, e.g. convenient, long-lasting, save time, the latter do not lead to any values.	Mostly physical, e.g. sensation, filling; some emotional consequences, e.g. sociability, pleasure; reassurance, utilitarian - e.g. convenient, a distraction. Individual pleasure more important than sharing.

Table 7

Comparative Analysis Based on HVMs

	UK	SPAIN
CLOTHING	Importance of Brand/Branding Generic clothing types emerged as more important than brands (e.g. flares, crop tops). Many expressed interest in & preference for different retail brands, but all the girls shop in a wide variety of stores. A fairly strong interest shown in designer labels; belief that they signify high quality; wearing them contributes to self-esteem	Importance of Brand/Branding Generic clothing types mentioned most, e.g. tight trousers, flares, though interest in a variety of retail brands expressed. Well known brands mentioned as a fairly important attribute. Some disdain for people who wear lots of expensive brands - 'show offs', but also view that brands mean high quality, fashionable items. Also you can impress people & show them you've got enough money to wear nice clothes. Good brands (e.g. Adidas) are also liked because lots of people wear them, & it's good to have brands that other people have.
	Spread of Responses Fairly broad spread of consequences (11), all leading to 2 key values. 10 attributes with 4 or more relations to consequences.	Spread of Responses Only 5 attributes with 4 or more relations to consequences; 9 consequences with 4 or more relations with attributes or values. Consequences lead to 3 key values.
	Total No. of Ladders Generated	Total No. of Ladders Generated
	129 (12 respondents)	73 (12 respondents)
	Longest Ladder	Longest Ladder
	7 Steps	5 Steps
SNACKS	Importance of Brand/Branding Brands are important. Particular brands can enhance peer group interaction, creating a sociable environment, leading to fun & enjoyment & friendship & belonging, & also generating reassurance leading to well-being. The following emerged as relatively important ladders, though not among the top 6: Brand name 1.2 Sociability 4.1 Friendship & belonging Brand name 1.2 Sociability 6.5 Fun & enjoyment Brand name 11.1 Reassurance 3.0 Well-being	Importance of Brand/Branding There are 4 mentions of brand name leading directly to trust/reassurance, but this is not among the strongest ladders & does not lead to the satisfaction of any values. Unbranded snacks (e.g. sunflower seeds, chorizo) are very common in Spain; far more so than in the UK. Brand name is not seen as very important where snacks are concerned.
	Spread of Responses Much greater spread of responses than in Spanish research, & therefore lower no. of relations in UK ladders than in Spanish ladders. 7 attributes, 14 consequences & 6 values (3 or more direct or indirect rels). 6 consequences lead to values (again, 3 or more rels).	Spread of Responses Narrower spread of responses than for UK research. 7 attributes & 9 consequences. Only 5 consequences lead onto 2 values. (3 or more direct or indirect relations between them).
	Total No. of Ladders Generated	Total No. of Ladders Generated
	133 (12 respondents)	84 (10 respondents)
	Longest Ladder	Longest Ladder
	7 Steps	5 Steps

10.3 Methodological Findings

10.3.1 Relevance of the Means-End Model to the Author's Sample

We can see from the HVMs and dominant perceptual orientations [section 10.1] that it was possible to apply the means-end model successfully to the author's sample. This research does seem to have uncovered the cognitive path between product choice and meaning for these young girls, as product attributes have been translated into meaningful associations with respect to self (Gutman, 1982). Many of the ladders elicited did stop at the level of consequences or benefits; however, a sufficient proportion of ladders encompassing all three levels of the means-end model [attributes, consequences and values] was generated, to allow us to assert that the means-end model is relevant and applicable to 11-12 year old consumers.

As we have seen [section 9.3], 63 [out of 133] ladders reached the level of values in the UK snacks brands interviews, while 47 [out of 84] ladders reached the level of values in the Spanish girls' snacks brands interviews. This equates to 5.25 ladders per respondent in the former case, and 4.7 ladders per respondent in the latter case. As Reynolds & Gutman (1988) suggest that one should expect to generate 2-3 ladders from 75% of respondents, these figures clearly show that the laddering technique has been successful. It is interesting to note that although snacks have been described as a low-involvement product category [see section 4.1], their consumption can still be related to higher order values.

It is not surprising, however, that the UK clothing brands interviews generated a higher number and proportion of ladders reaching the values level, given that clothing is considered a more ego-involving product category. 78 out of 129 ladders, or an average of 6.5 ladders per respondent reached the level of values. We can conclude from this that, for the UK respondents, clothing is more strongly associated with values-related motivations than are snacks. This is in keeping

with the theory that, as discussed, clothing contributes very clearly to a sense of self and identity [see sections 3.4 and 4.2].

In the Spanish girls' clothing interviews, however, fewer ladders reaching the values level were generated than was the case in their snacks interviews. 26 [out of 73] ladders reached the level of values in the Spanish girls' clothing brands interviews, or an average of just over 2 ladders per respondent. An examination of the data reveals that some ladders stop at the level of quite utilitarian consequences, such as 'long-lasting' or 'comfortable'. Other ladders uncover emotional benefits such as 'fitting in', 'avoiding criticism', and 'feeling proud', but the researcher was unable to 'tease out' from the respondent why that was important to her. The author feels that, in general, the Spanish respondents were a little less inclined than the English girls were to progress to the level of articulating values. Perhaps the fact that the researcher was a different nationality to the Spanish girls made them a little more guarded and less open than the English girls were, and the researcher, herself, lacked the experience to overcome this obstacle.

How then, we might ask, was it possible to generate 4.7 ladders per respondent in the Spanish girls' snacks interviews? One possible explanation is that the types of values most often generated in these snacks interviews [well-being, and fun and enjoyment], do not involve the respondent in exposing the degree of vulnerability that the expression of values such as the need for friendship, or the need for self-esteem does. These latter values are the values most often associated with clothing brands in the author's research. Although many respondents **did** reach the level of expressing these values, some respondents may not have wished to disclose these personal comments to the interviewer.

It is also, perhaps, true that the Spanish girls were slightly less interested in the subject matter, and slightly less articulate about it, than the English girls were. This supports other research findings that describe the 'kids growing older younger' phenomenon as particularly relevant to British children, who have more

exposure to brands and are allowed greater freedom in media consumption than their European counterparts (Thomson & Woodham, 1997).

Having established that, in overall terms, the means-end model was successfully applied with both the UK and Spanish respondents, we can now look in a little more detail at the individual elements of the means-end chain. Let us first see how well the author's data fits with Olson & Reynolds' (1983) 6-step model:

Concrete attributes → Abstract attributes → Functional outcomes → Psychosocial outcomes → Instrumental values → Terminal values

Fit with Olson & Reynolds' (1983) 6-Step Model: Part 1

Concrete attributes → Abstract attributes → Functional outcomes → Psychosocial outcomes → Instrumental values → Terminal values

In terms of the attributes generated in the UK and Spanish snacks brands interviews, nine were the same in both countries, and three were different. All but one of the attributes common to both countries could be described as concrete [e.g. shape and appearance of crisp, range of flavours, size of pack and quantity in pack]. The only abstract attribute was 'brand name'. Two further concrete attributes [smell and price] were generated in the UK interviews, and one more abstract attribute [TV advertising]. In the Spanish interviews, one more concrete attribute [unpackaged/unbranded snacks] and two further abstract attributes [snacks for children, and snacks for different times of day] were generated.

The high proportion of concrete attributes generated lends support to Grunert, Beckmann and Sorensen's (2001) view that the triadic sorting process, "*favors concrete intrinsic at the expense of extrinsic or less concrete attributes*" (Grunert et al, 2001:71-72). The author does not feel, however, that this was a problem. The author only 'laddered up' from attributes that were clearly specified as important by the respondent, thus avoiding the generation of too many, "*short and irrelevant ladders.*" (Grunert et al, 2001:71-72). In addition, the young age of the respondents made it likely that salient, concrete attributes would be discussed

more readily than abstract ones; as we have seen, at eleven years of age, children have only recently become able to make psychological comparisons based on abstract attributes (Roedder John, 1999:186) [see section 3.3.1].

As one might expect, the clothing brands interviews led to the generation of a higher number of abstract attributes than the snacks interviews did, for both UK and Spanish respondents. Nine attributes generated were the same for both nationalities; four of these could be described as abstract [for different age groups, fashionable, casual, smart or elegant], while the rest were more tangible [e.g. sportswear, designer labels, loose-fitting, quality material, wide selection]. One other tangible attribute was generated in the Spanish interviews [good value for money], and one other more abstract attribute [well-known brand, well advertised]. In the UK interviews, four other concrete attributes were elicited [brands with accessories, colourful, tight-fitting, subtle/neutral]. As with the snacks brands interviews, it was possible to 'ladder up' to higher level values regardless of whether the attributes were concrete or abstract.

Olson & Reynolds' (1983) model implies that abstract attributes will be generated following the elicitation of concrete attributes. This was not generally the case in the author's study. In the author's research, an abstract or concrete attribute almost always then led on to the generation of a consequence.

Fit with Olson & Reynolds' (1983) 6-Step Model: Part 2

Concrete attributes → Abstract attributes → **Functional outcomes** → **Psychosocial outcomes** → Instrumental values → Terminal values

Table 8

	<u>Functional Outcomes</u>	<u>Functional Outcomes</u>	<u>Psycho-social Outcomes</u>	<u>Psycho-social Outcomes</u>
	UK	SPAIN	UK	SPAIN
Snacks				
Brands	Sustains/fills you up	Sustains/fills you up	Change/ variety	Change/ variety
Interviews	Avoid getting fat	Avoid getting fat	Interesting	Eye-catching
	Saves money	Saves money	Amusing	Amusing
	Long-lasting	Long-lasting	Exciting	Individual pleasure
	Pleasant physical sensation	Pleasant sensation/taste	Reassurance	Reassurance/ Trust
	Convenient	Convenient	Feel grown up	
	Save time	A distraction/ occupies hands	Sociability	Sociability
	Feel comfortable	Feel comfortable	Relaxing	Relaxing
			Feel lively	Avoid being 'picked on', bullied or teased
				Feel elegant

Clothing Brands Interviews	Feel comfortable	Feel comfortable	Feel grown up	Feel grown up
	Personal hygiene	Useful	Reassurance and trust	Feel own age
	Good service		Stand out, impress your friends	Stand out
	Long-lasting	Long-lasting		
	Convenient	Convenient	'Stand in', fit in with your friends	Fit in
	Save money	Save money		
			Physical attractiveness	Physical attractiveness
			Right image	Right image
			Relaxed and carefree	Feel proud, admired
			Sociability	Be popular
			Feel cheerful	Feel good, cheerful
			Feel confident	
			Feel active, sporty	Avoid being criticised, teased
			Feel protected	
			Express own taste	Express own taste

It is interesting to note that, while the snacks brand interviews generated a roughly equivalent number of functional and psycho-social outcomes, the clothing brands interviews generated a far greater number of psycho-social outcomes. This clearly supports the view that clothing is more ego-involving and can have high symbolic value, while snacks fulfil utilitarian as well as emotional needs [see sections 3.4, 4.1 and 4.3].

The data shows that there are instances where functional outcomes lead on to psycho-social outcomes, as Olson & Reynolds (1983) model implies will be the case. For instance:

F = Functional

P = Psycho-social

Pleasant taste [F] → Feel excited [P]

Respondent 2, UK Snacks Interviews

Strong taste [F] → It livens you up a bit [P]

Respondent 5, UK Snacks Interviews

Satisfies hunger [F] → Feel relaxed [P]

Respondent 3, Spanish Snacks Interviews

However, there are also instances where one functional outcome leads to another functional outcome:

Pleasant taste [F] → Keeps you going [F]

Respondent 1, Spanish Snacks Interviews

Long-lasting material [F] → Saves money [F]

Respondent 2, Spanish Clothes Interviews

In addition, there are many occasions where one psycho-social outcome leads to another psycho-social outcome:

Avoid being criticised [P] → Fit in [P]

Respondent 3, Spanish Clothes Interviews

Fit in [P] → Have the right image [P]

Respondent 4, Spanish Clothes Interviews

Have the right image [P] → Feel attractive [P]

Respondent 5, UK Clothes Interviews

Have the right image [P] → Stand out [P]

Respondent 6, UK Clothes Interviews

There are also occasions where a psycho-social outcome leads to a functional outcome:

Interesting, eye-catching [P] → Saves time [F]

Respondent 2, UK Snacks Interviews

Good to share [P] → More convenient and saves money [F]

Respondent 3, Spanish Snacks Interviews

Fit with Olson & Reynolds' (1983) 6-Step Model: Part 3

Concrete attributes → Abstract attributes → Functional outcomes → Psychosocial outcomes → **Instrumental values → Terminal values**

Table 9

	<u>Instrumental Values</u>	<u>Instrumental Values</u>	<u>Terminal Values</u>	<u>Terminal Values</u>
	UK	SPAIN	UK	SPAIN
Snacks Brands Interviews	Help others/ concern for others/ make friends happy		Well-being Friendship and belonging Self-satisfaction Fun and enjoyment Happiness Health	Well-being Friendship and belonging Fun and enjoyment Happiness Health
Clothing Brands Interviews			Freedom/ Independence Friendship and belonging Security Satisfied/at ease with oneself Happiness Self-esteem Sense of identity and self Well-being Enjoyment Sense of achievement	Freedom/ Independence Friendship and belonging Happiness Self-esteem Sense of identity, self and individuality Sense of achievement

The author's study elicited just one instrumental value [preferred mode of conduct], and eleven terminal values [end states of existence] (Rokeach, 1969) [see section 3.1.1]. In two instances, the instrumental value [help others/ concern for others/ make friends happy] leads on to a terminal value [happiness], though on several other occasions the ladder ends with the instrumental value. Given that the overwhelming majority of values generated were terminal values, the author agrees with Olson & Reynolds' (2001) view that the 4-step model [Attributes → Functional consequences → Psycho-social consequences → Values or Goals] is adequate to express the means-end chains generated. The author feels, however, that it would be helpful to insert 2-way arrows between functional and psycho-social consequences, to denote the frequent movement from one back to the other, as ladders are generated:

***Attributes → functional consequences ↔ psychosocial consequences
→ values or goals***

One could, of course, insert 2-way arrows between all elements of the means-end chain, as a ladder will occasionally move from a consequence back to an attribute, or from a value back to a consequence. However, the author feels that the amendment suggested above captures the overall nature and direction of the majority of means-end chains generated in her study.

10.3.2 Contribution to Means-End Theory From a Cross-Cultural Perspective

This section will focus on how the means-end approach worked in Spain compared to the UK, and will discuss whether differences determined by geographic culture have been found, as has been the case in previous cross-cultural, means-end research (Kara, Laskey & Seaton, 1993; Valette-Florence & Rapacchi, 1991; Baker & Knox, 1994; Brunso & Grunert, 1998; Valette-Florence et al, 1999).

The means-end approach and laddering technique worked in exactly the same way with both nationalities. The techniques used to overcome 'blocks' during the

interviews were equally useful in both countries [e.g. use concrete scenarios, make comparisons with the past, appeal to the girls' emotions: see sections 8.1 and 8.4]. The same challenges of interviewee boredom, shyness and embarrassment, and difficulties with triadic sorting were also encountered in both countries. The same responses to these challenges were appropriate in both sets of interviews; that is, to use stimulus material to minimise boredom, to create a relaxed atmosphere to overcome shyness, and to build in a pre-stage to the triadic sorting to counter any problems with this exercise [see section 8.4 for a description of this].

As has already been noted [see section 9.3], the ladders generated by the Spanish girls ended at the level of consequences more frequently than the ladders generated by the English girls. The researcher feels that, in general, the fact of being the same nationality as the English girls, helped engender a little more trust between the interviewer and the English interviewees, which led to a little more openness on their part, compared to the Spanish girls [see section 10.3.1 for more discussion of this point].

Although the author's sample was not large enough to talk about the results being representative of 'Spanish culture' or 'British culture', the study clearly reveals shared knowledge and behaviour regarding the consumption of snacks and clothing brands. For instance, the fact that a slightly different list of attributes was generated by the Spanish girls compared to the list generated by the English girls, is indicative of some degree of cultural divergence. Unbranded snacks [such as sunflower seeds or 'tapas'], for example, play an important role in Spanish culture, but not in British culture. It should be noted, however, that there were more similarities than differences between the two geographic samples' lists of both attributes and consequences, suggesting quite a strong homogeneity among girls of this age from these two advanced Western European nations.

Regarding the snacks interviews, one notable difference among the consequences generated was the sense of 'individual pleasure' frequently mentioned by the Spanish respondents – a consequence absent from the UK respondents' list. This does appear to reveal a cultural difference in behaviour: if a Spanish girl has a snack at school, it is likely to be in order to satisfy hunger, and will often be eaten

alone. For the English girls, however, eating a snack [notably, crisps] at break-time, is part of the daily routine, and is a sociable, interactive activity, involving swapping, sharing, and chatting.

Considering the clothing brands interviews, again, very many similarities emerged in terms of the attributes and consequences generated, with a few significant differences. For the Spanish girls, the consequence of 'feeling one's own age' emerged as well as 'feeling grown up', highlighting the fact that the Spanish girls often want to feel like children, contrasting with the English girls who more often want to 'feel grown up'. This fits with the view that the desire to leave childhood behind, articulated in the phenomenon of 'kids growing older younger' (Thomson & Woodham, 1997), is particularly appealing to British children.

Another consequence that appears frequently in the Spanish research, but not in the UK research, is that of 'avoiding being criticised or teased'. The author feels, however, that this desire was also present among the English girls, but was expressed in a different way. In the UK interviews, the girls often talked about the need to 'fit in', and moved from this to talking about the need for friendship and belonging, thus expressing a value. The Spanish girls, in contrast, articulated a desire not to be criticised or teased, but did not always then go on to articulate the wish to fulfil the value of friendship and belonging. It may be, then, that the same needs and feelings were often present among both nationalities, but were simply not expressed in the same way.

The values elicited in the Spanish and UK interviews are strikingly similar: For example, well-being, friendship and belonging, fun and enjoyment, happiness, freedom and independence, self-esteem, sense of identity and self, and achievement. Even when different values emerge, these are not among the most dominant ones; for instance, self-satisfaction and concern for others emerge in the UK snacks interviews, but not in the Spanish interviews. Security, and being satisfied or at ease with oneself emerge in the UK clothes interviews, but not in the Spanish interviews. However, none of these values has as many as four or more relations with other elements.

If we examine the Hierarchical Values Maps [HVMs] for snacks brands, only two values appear on the Spanish HVM [well-being and fun and enjoyment: with three or more relations with other elements], while six values appear on the UK HVM. It appears, then, that a difference between the two cultural groupings is that snacks satisfy a broader range of values for the UK girls than is the case for the Spanish girls.

We could argue, then, that we see culture reflected and expressed in the two slightly different sets of, "*collectively shared cognitive structures*" as described by Grunert, Grunert & Kristensen (1992:90). We have clearly found some differences between the two cultural groups, just as other researchers in the field of cross-cultural means-end research have done (Kara, Laskey & Seaton, 1993; Valette-Florence & Rapacchi, 1991; Baker & Knox, 1994; Brunso & Grunert, 1998; Valette-Florence et al, 1999).

We have also found, however, a high degree of homogeneity between these young Spanish and English girls. The author's study reveals a difference in terms of the dominance of different values, rather than stark differences in the values themselves. This contrasts with, for example, Kara et al's (1993) research, where different values emerged for Anglos and Hispanics. The author's study reinforces Kennedy's (1995) assertion that there are, "*a few core values that are relevant to a child's life such as fun and enjoyment, sense of belonging, and sense of accomplishment*" (Kennedy, 1995). A full discussion of the actual values elicited in the author's work will follow in section 10.4. Let us turn our attention now to examining what the author's research reveals regarding the potential link between values and behaviour.

10.3.3 The Link Between Values and Behaviour

As we saw earlier [section 3.1.4], many authors have discussed the difficulties of linking personal values directly with consumer behaviour (Munson, 1984; Grunert & Grunert, 1995; Shrum & McCarty, 1997; Prensky & Wright-Isak, 1997; Allen, 2000; Manyiwa & Crawford, 2002). So how does the author's study contribute to this debate? Clearly, the brands used as the starting point to generate ladders,

were the respondents' preferred brands. The interviewees talked about the snacks brands that they buy, and the clothing brands that they buy, that others buy for them, and that they wear. From the author's data, however, it is impossible to state categorically that it is the personal values that these brands satisfy, that are the key motivators of purchase. The author feels compelled to concur with Grunert & Grunert (1995), and say that we cannot use this means-end study directly to predict behaviour. We cannot refute the claim that a number of intervening variables may be influential in driving consumer choices; for instance, attitudes (Munson, 1984; Shrum & McCarty, 1997; Allen, 2000), individual differences and demographics (Shrum & McCarty, 1997); community context (Prensky & Wright-Isak, 1997), and lifestyle (Scholderer et al, 2002).

Allen (2000) asserts that values influence the importance of product attributes; indeed, in the author's research, we can see examples where values link directly to a preference for certain product attributes. For instance, in the Spanish snacks brands interviews, in some cases, a desire for good health drives a preference for unpackaged, unbranded snacks. Similarly, in the Spanish clothing brands interviews, a need for self-esteem is, on occasion, reflected in a preference for wearing popular sportswear brands.

As we saw earlier, Manyiwa & Crawford (2002) highlight the importance of social context in determining the linkages between values and behaviour. The author hopes that the predictive validity of her results has been somewhat improved by the attempt to make reference to and discuss different social contexts during the course of the laddering interviews. For example, one UK respondent talked about how she likes to wear designer sportswear to her drama group on Saturday mornings, because it makes her feel good about herself to know that she has made an effort with her clothes. This avoids, *"people [...] bitching about me because of the way I look"* [Respondent three, UK clothing brands interviews]. Similarly, another respondent always likes to dress smartly if she goes to a restaurant with her parents as, *"it just makes you feel grown up really"* [Respondent one, UK clothing brands interviews]. Going for a walk in the park, on the other hand, casual clothes are important: *"you don't have to show off [...] you want to feel comfortable"* [Respondent six, UK clothing brands interviews].

We can, therefore, gain an understanding of how product preferences change in accordance with particular social contexts.

Although we cannot use the author's study directly to predict behaviour, it does, nonetheless, allow us to see clearly the connections of given brands with specific means-end associations; for example:

A=Attribute; C=Consequence; V=Value

Designer label [A] → helps me to stand out, feel special [C] → makes me feel good about myself [self-esteem] [V]

[UK clothing brand Interviews]

Hula Hoop rings [A] → can eat them off your fingers [C] → can make a joke with your friends about it [C] → fun and enjoyment [V]

[UK snacks brands interviews]

Clearly, then, we have gained an understanding of why the respondents like the brands they consume. It would therefore be logical to assume that the benefits that we have uncovered, and the values that the brands have been found to satisfy are, at least in part, the drivers that motivate purchase. Let us turn our attention, now, to a brief consideration of the limitations and issues associated with means-end chain theory and laddering, in the light of the author's research.

10.3.4 Limitations and Issues

A particular concern with laddering identified earlier [section 3.1.3], was that it assumes a mental ordering on the part of the respondent – moving from the concrete to the abstract – that may not be present (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000), and that it may uncover artificial abstract levels (Botschen et al, 1999). In the author's interviews, however, it did not feel as if respondents were being forced along a mental path that was unnatural to them. On the contrary, most respondents moved instinctively, and with ease, from discussing tangible product attributes, to discussing abstract associations linked to these attributes. The

intuitive way in which most interviewees could respond to the probing questioning, moving to ever higher levels of abstraction, makes the author believe that at least some part of the respondent's cognitive structure was being uncovered. The author accepts that values may be, "*motivationally relevant only at times and in situations where they are [made] salient.*" (Cohen & Warlop, 2001:402). The author does not feel, however, that this invalidates the usefulness of the ladders that emerge.

The author believes that, while the laddering technique lacks the sophistication to reveal a flawless view of respondents' cognitive structures, it does, nonetheless, give us a good indication of, "*an excerpt of consumers' cognitive structure*" (Grunert, Beckmann & Sorensen, 2001:68). Laddering also provides us with a technique whereby many layers of qualitative data can be collected and then represented in the form of charts [HVMs]. Cohen & Warlop (2001) criticise the technique for the way individuals' responses are interpreted, coded and aggregated, "*thus necessarily sacrificing a certain degree of accuracy for parsimony*" (Cohen & Warlop, 2001:403). If one looks, however, at what the HVMs and, behind these, the implication matrices, contain, a relatively high proportion of rich data is preserved and reflected back to a wider audience: For instance, 71% of relations are depicted on the UK snacks interviews' HVM, while 79% of relations are shown on the Spanish snacks interviews' HVM.

We have established, then, that the author's research demonstrates that means-end chain theory can, indeed, be successfully applied to 11-12 year old consumers, in a cross-cultural context. While we cannot assert that this study could be used directly to predict behaviour, the author does feel, nonetheless, that an excerpt of the respondents' cognitive structures has been uncovered. The consequences and personal values associated with particular preferred product and brand attributes have been revealed. Let us move on, then, to examine exactly what those personal values are, that have been found to be so important to these young consumers.

10.4 Findings Relating to Personal Values Satisfied by Snacks and Clothing Brands: UK and Spain

Snacks, UK: Some General Comments

Snacks clearly play an important role for the English girls, forming an integral part of their daily routine. Many of the girls interviewed take crisps to school every day in their lunch-boxes, while many have chocolate at school approximately three times per week. As such, these girls are far heavier 'users' of these types of snacks than their Spanish counterparts. For the English girls, eating these snacks is often a social activity at break-time, lunch-time, and/or on the way home from school. They share and swap snacks while chatting with each other and, as such, snacks play an important part in enhancing peer group interaction. The snacks they eat are far more than simple sustenance; they are a tool that helps one girl relate to another, a focal point around which cliques of friends can gather. This phenomenon was noted far less in the Spanish girls' interviews.

Crisps and chocolate are bought by mums/parents, and as independent purchases by the girls themselves. The interviews revealed a higher incidence of snack fads among the English girls than was the case among the Spanish girls; that is, where someone eats the same snack every day for a few weeks, and then drops it completely to move on to something new.

Values Satisfied: Snacks, UK

Overall, there is a much greater spread of responses in the UK research, compared to the Spanish research. There is much more consistency of response among all interviewees in the Spanish research and, hence, much higher numbers of relations in the ladders. Very similar ladders emerge as the strongest ones in both the UK and Spanish research.

Most attributes identified as important are concrete ones, for instance, how the snacks look [shape and appearance], or how they taste [range of flavours, type/strength of flavour], although brand name also emerges as an important attribute. There are some similarities, then, with Bower and Sandall's (2002) findings, in their study of snacking behaviour in primary school children. They found that the most important reasons for snack choice were the taste and texture of the food, as well as 'whatever snacks were at home', and 'what the children were used to' (Bower & Sandall, 2002:22). The needs satisfied by these snacks are mostly physical, although some emotional needs are also being met. This is demonstrated by the consequences identified as important, which are physical [e.g. filling, physical sensation], utilitarian [convenient, long-lasting, save time], and psychological [reassurance, sociability]. Well-being is the value most often satisfied in both the UK and Spanish fieldwork. In addition, self-satisfaction emerges as important in the UK research.

The most dominant perceptual orientation is:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Nature of chocolate bar [e.g. ingredients] [A] → Pleasant physical sensation
[C] → Well-being [V]

The following ladders elicited from respondents illustrate this orientation:

"Maltesers are like little balls" [A] → "You suck it and it dissolves like little air balls" [C] → "It makes you feel light and airy and it has a nice taste" [C] → "It makes you feel good" [V: well-being]

Respondent 5, UK Snacks

"Galaxy has a soft, melt in the mouth texture [A] → "It gives you a tingling sensation and tastes nice" [C] → "It makes you feel good" [V: well-being]

Respondent 3, UK Snacks

Considering the other dominant perceptual orientations, two other attributes – sensation in mouth, and type/strength of flavour - also lead frequently to a pleasant physical sensation, which then leads on to a sense of well-being. For example,

Twiglets, marmite flavour [A] → *“it has a strong taste with lots of flavour [...]; it livens you up a bit”* [C] → *“It makes you feel better.”* [V: well-being]

Respondent 5, UK Snacks

The reassurance of a familiar brand name can also generate a sense of well-being:

“You know what they’re going to taste like and that they are good quality”

Respondent 6, UK Snacks

The other dominant value that emerges from the interviews is a sense of self-satisfaction. For instance, ‘soft’ and ‘chewy’ crisps [e.g. Quavers] were described as giving a pleasant physical sensation which leads the respondent to feel rather self-satisfied:

“It feels nice in your mouth, it feels strange, because you put it in your mouth and it fizzes away, and it feels really nice [...] it just makes me feel nice, and when I eat them it makes me feel [...] satisfied.”

Respondent 5, UK Snacks

Similarly, a ‘nice smell’ [e.g. Monster Munch] can lead one to anticipate a pleasant taste, which, in turn, can make one feel somewhat self-satisfied:

“I think that I have it, and not the other people; that I have got what you haven’t got.”

Respondent 1, UK Snacks

It is interesting to note, then, that the girls’ preferred snacks are important to them because of the physical consequences they generate, which then lead them to

experience the positive mental states of well-being and self-satisfaction. If we look back at the Hierarchical Values Map [section 10.1], we can see that the other values satisfied by snacks brands are: fun and enjoyment, happiness, concern for others, and friendship and belonging. The fact that the snacks the girls eat allow them to be sociable and interact with their peer group is key in fulfilling each of these values, as we can see from the following examples:

The large pack size of crisps means that, “there’s enough in there to share with your friends [...]. It makes them happy, and that makes me feel happy.”

Respondent 2, UK Snacks

The way Skips crisps crackle in your mouth leaves a pleasant feeling on your tongue, and the respondent likes the little noise it makes, “you eat it with

Respondent 5, UK Snacks

Linking the snacks with their advertising slogans also helps social interaction, which is fun for the girls:

“Normally when you are eating you don’t say much. But if you have a slogan then at least you can start a conversation about the slogan. Then it starts on other slogans that have been on television, and you start talking about funny adverts and stuff like that.”

Respondent 5, UK Snacks

Different branding devices also ‘spark off’ conversations, enhancing peer group interaction, and providing much fun and enjoyment. For instance, Walkers Cheese n’ Owen crisps:

“Well. I went shopping with my mum, and we bought the ‘Cheese n’ Owen’ crisps; that’s because I like Michael Owen [...]. If one person likes him

then everyone else likes him. [It's good] because then you can all talk about the same things, and then you can all tell each other about things that happen, and you might not know that something happened to him and they can tell you [...]. I think it's quite good because when my friends tell me, I can go home and tell my sister, and she'll tell her friends and it gets around [...]. She's really into football and so am I, so it's a good talk to have [...]. I think it's quite fun!"

Respondent 1, UK Snacks

The value of friendship and belonging can be satisfied by sharing snacks that have a well-known brand name [e.g. Walkers crisps]. The familiarity of the brand reassures the girls that their friends will like the product. By sharing snacks with their friends, the girls can feel popular, and can avoid feeling lonely. When asked why she liked giving snacks to her friend, one respondent replied:

"Because she says 'thank you' and everyone comes over and says, 'What did you do?', and I say, 'nothing' [...]. If one person says 'thank you' then you have a crowd of people round you [...]. It looks like you're popular [...]. If one person comes over then they bring all their friends, and then you have loads of people to talk to."

Respondent 1, UK Snacks

For the UK respondents, then, although the strongest reason for choosing a snack is the physical pleasure that it brings, and the sense of well-being that this induces, other, more complex reasons also play a part. Having a certain snack in one's lunch-box can 'oil the wheels' of friendship by providing talking points, and can enhance one's popularity by being shared. This helps the girls feel more integrated within their peer group, and satisfies the intense need for belonging that they experience. Interestingly, in Bower and Sandall's (2002) research into snacking behaviour with seven and eight year olds, having snacks that are the 'same as friends' was one of the least relevant decision factors (Bower & Sandall, 2002:22). This suggests that the importance of the social acceptability of snacks

is something that develops when children are a little older. Let us move on, now, to examine the findings from the Spanish snacks brands interviews, relating to values.

Snacks, Spain: Some General Comments

The Spanish respondents tend to eat a wider variety of snacks than the English girls do, and there is less dominance of any single brand [e.g. Walkers in the UK]. Overall, the girls snack less on crisps and chocolate than their UK counterparts. Snacks in Spain are more often bought by mums/parents than is the case for the English girls. Taste is the most important factor.

Overall, ladders are even more utilitarian than in the UK interviews. Even more of the consequences relate to satisfying hunger, or simply enjoying a nice taste with an end value of feeling good, or experiencing a sense of well-being. As we have seen, utilitarian reasons for brand choice also emerge strongly in the UK interviews. However, emotional consequences such as reassurance are a little more important for the English girls, and the end value of friendship and belonging emerges a little more strongly.

Values Satisfied: Snacks, Spain

The spread of responses was much narrower than in the UK research, meaning there was a higher number of relations between elements. As with the UK interviews, most attributes identified as important are concrete ones, relating to how the snacks look, taste, and what ingredients they contain. The fact of being unbranded or unpackaged emerges as an attribute, as many snacks in Spain are sold this way. As mentioned above, the needs fulfilled by these snacks are mostly physical [satisfying hunger, enjoying a nice taste], or utilitarian [convenient, a distraction]. Some emotional consequences do emerge, however, [though less than in the UK interviews] such as sociability and reassurance.

Interestingly, sociability appears to be important to the Spanish girls for slightly different reasons to the English girls'. Sociability is desirable because of the fun it brings, or the sense of well-being it induces; it does not seem to satisfy any particular need for friendship and belonging, which it clearly does for the English respondents. It is also interesting to note that, unlike for the English respondents, individual pleasure emerges as a more important consequence than sharing. The following quote is typical of many respondents; talking of cheesy and ketchup flavour crisps, the interviewee comments:

"Yo me las compro para comermelas, pero si alguien me las pide, yo le doy" "I buy them to eat them myself, but if somebody asks me for some, then I'll give some to him/her"

Respondent 3, Spain, Snacks

She doesn't mind sharing, but this was not her intention when she purchased the snack. This contrasts with many of the English respondents who have the clear intention of sharing when purchasing the product. Similarly, many Spanish respondents eat 'pipas' [sunflower seeds], as a distraction and something that gives individual pleasure. One interviewee comments on their nice salty taste, and says that peeling them is entertaining:

"Así me entretengo mientras las pelo, y me quitan el hambre un poquito" "So I entertain myself while I'm peeling them, and they satisfy a bit of hunger"

Respondent 3, Spain, Snacks

Just as in the UK interviews, the value most often satisfied is well-being. The most dominant perceptual orientation is almost identical to the UK one, and is as follows:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Nature of non-crisp snack [e.g. combination of ingredients] [A] → Pleasant sensation/taste [C] → Well-being [V]

The following quote is typical of many respondents, and illustrates this orientation:

“Me gustan mucho [donuts] porque son ni demasiado dulces, ni demasiado salados [...]; dejan un buen sabor en la boca, [...] te hacen sentir bien”.

“I like [doughnuts] a lot because they’re not too sweet, and not too savoury [...]; they leave a nice taste in your mouth, [...] they make you feel good”.

Respondent 3, Spain, Snacks

Type/strength of flavour is the other most dominant attribute, also leading to a consequence of pleasant sensation/taste, and to a value of well-being.

The other dominant value to emerge, apart from well-being, is fun and enjoyment. We can see the role sociability often plays in ladders ending in fun and enjoyment in the following quotes:

“Me gusta lo picante [...]. Todas hablamos de los sabores picantes que nos gustan [...], nos divierte”

“I like spicy tastes [...]. We all talk about the spicy tastes that we like [...], it’s fun”

Respondent 10, Spain, Snacks

One respondent discusses a new biscuit and chocolate product, with lots of caramel in the middle: ‘Espace’. When you break the product, the caramel stretches, and she laughs about this with her friends:

“Nos reimos, porque la primera vez que me lo comí, recuerdo que mis amigas me dijeron, ‘ten cuidado porque te va a salir el caramelo, y yo lo partí por el medio, y en seguida se me salió [...]; es divertido”

"We laugh, because the first time that I ate it, I remember that my friends said to me, 'be careful because the caramel is going to come out, and I broke it in half, and it all came out straight away [...]; it's fun"

Respondent 10, Spain, Snacks

The same respondent also talks of eating 'pipas' [sunflower seeds] every day, because it is an enjoyable distraction. She says she doesn't mind sharing them with her friends because:

"Te sientes mejor porque sabes que son tus amigas, que no te van a fallar. Entonces, cuando necesites cualquier cosa, se acordarán de aquel día que tú les diste pipas."

"You feel better because you know that they are your friends, that they won't let you down. Then, when you need something, they will remember that day that you gave them sunflower seeds."

Respondent 10, Spain, Snacks

Sharing, then, appears to be motivated by self-interest, by the prospect of a future reward, rather than the pleasure of feeling one 'belongs' and is part of a group, which seems to be the key motivation for many English respondents.

Another respondent talks of sharing big bags of crisps at parties, which leads to a sense of well-being:

"Nos reunimos, estamos hablando y a la vez comiendo algo [...]; te hace sentir bien"

"We meet up, we're talking and eating at the same time [...]; it makes you feel good"

Respondent 6, Spain, Snacks

Well-being and fun and enjoyment, then, are the key values satisfied by snacks products. They are a source of individual pleasure, as well as serving physical

and utilitarian needs. They are also, however, appreciated for the element of sociability they can engender. This appreciation does not appear to be driven by a need for friendship and belonging, as was the case for many English respondents, but instead, for the sheer enjoyment and sense of well-being that sociability can bring. Let us turn our attention, now, to the values satisfied by clothing brands, starting with the UK interviews.

Clothing, UK: Some General Comments

‘Standing out’ and ‘standing in’ [i.e. blending in with the crowd] both emerge as important benefits for the English girls. They want to feel that they are unique individuals, but at the same time, have a desperate need to fit in with and not appear different from their peer group. The respondents feel that not fitting in may lead to being teased or bullied. Interestingly, standing out from the crowd in subtle ways was seen as a positive way of fitting in with the peer group more strongly, by impressing their friends. It is important, however, to stand out in an acceptable way. The respondents like wearing similar things to their friends, but not to copy their friends or be copied by them. They want to fit in, not to be different, but also to be an individual, and they use clothing to help them achieve this.

There was some aspiration towards designer labels [although, in general, they did not consider the most expensive labels, such as Calvin Klein and Giorgio Armani, to be ‘for them’ at the moment], and some desire to look more ‘grown up’ – unlike the Spanish girls. The need not to look fat was mentioned a little more than in the Spanish girls’ interviews. Going shopping with friends, rather than with their mothers, was mentioned a little more by the English girls than by the Spanish girls, indicating a slightly higher degree of independence from the family.

Values Satisfied: Clothing, UK

Examining the most dominant perceptual orientations, friendship and belonging and self-esteem are the two most important values satisfied by the UK respondents' clothing. Three key attributes are at the root of these orientations: fashionable, designer labels and sportswear; attributes reflecting how clothes look and their image, as well as, in the case of designer labels, a certain quality level. Other attributes identified as important reflect how clothes feel [e.g. comfortable, loose, tight], clothes for different occasions [e.g. casual], and for different age groups. It is interesting to note the similarity between these attributes, and those found to be important in Lee Taylor and Cosenza's (2002) research into mall shopping behaviour and clothing choice among 16-20 year old girls. In the latter study, *"fit, style and look are the three most important attributes assessed when shopping for later aged female teen clothing."* (Lee Taylor & Cosenza, 2002:393).

The most important consequences identified in the author's research are associated with how clothes enable one to fit in and/or express individuality [right image, stand out, 'stand in'], as well as how clothes make you feel [attractive, confident, comfortable, relaxed]. Although some utilitarian needs are identified [comfort, durability], the needs satisfied by clothing are predominantly emotional and psychological.

Overall, the most dominant perceptual orientation is as follows:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Fashionable [A] → Stand out [C] → 'Stand in'/Fit in [C] → Friendship and belonging

The following quote illustrates this orientation well, expressing how fashionable clothes can satisfy two apparently contradictory needs – the need for individuality allied with the need to fit in – which together allow the respondent to experience a sense of friendship and belonging:

“I want to be the same but not exactly the same [...]. I don’t want to be like sheep and follow everyone else [...]. It’s good to be similar to your friends so you don’t feel you’re apart from them or pushed aside by them [...]. We can all laugh at the same things and talk about things together.”

Respondent 8, UK, Clothing

This desperation to fit in, to appear normal, not to draw attention to oneself, is a recurring theme among these respondents. The following quote is typical of many:

“Well. I don’t particularly want to draw attention to myself, so I just wear what I think is ‘comfy’ [...]. If you were walking down the street, I wouldn’t want people to stare at me [...]; I just want to be normal. I would be a bit embarrassed to wear bright clothes that would make me look weird, I think, like an alien [...]. If you look different from your friends in school, like when you have, like, a ‘mufti’ day, and you can wear your own clothes, then people in other classes, or in your class, will stare at you, make you feel a bit like, I’m not sure, just unhappy with what you are wearing through the day and stuff, and wished you could have brought something better, to look more like them.”

Respondent 2, UK, Clothing

Another respondent summarises the need to look like everyone else, as follows:

“Just so you fit, just so you don’t feel awkward around people, so that you are not tense and stuff like that.”

Respondent 10, UK, Clothing

Similarly, another respondent expresses the need to fit in as a desire to blend in with the crowd, to look normal:

"I just don't like being odd, like if I was wearing a pair of red jean trousers and a black and yellow striped top, then everyone would look at me. But if I am in the same fashion as everyone else, no-one would say anything really."

Respondent 11, UK Clothing

These findings echo some of Lee Taylor and Cosenza's (2002) findings, in their research among 16-20 year old girls: *"Choosing the wrong shoes or jeans to wear within a social affiliation/influence group would be considered a social sin to most teens [...]; the 'right' choice of clothing is of great importance."* (Lee Taylor & Cosenza, 2002:393). There is a perceived risk in 'getting it wrong', in terms of how one is regarded by one's peers, and in terms of one's social influence position. Lee Taylor and Cosenza go on to say, *"there is a preoccupation among this group for social acceptance, social affiliation and 'coolness' attached to the right choice."* (Lee Taylor & Cosenza, 2002:393). It is interesting to note that this preoccupation is already developing at 11-12 years of age.

The desire to feel like a unique individual is, however, equally strong. The respondent who has just said that she wants to be, *"in the same fashion as everyone else"*, expresses her desire for individuality as follows:

"It's my fashion, it's what my taste is like. If I like it then I'll wear it [...]. My mum always says to me, 'Make your own fashion up'"

Respondent 11, UK, Clothing

These apparently contradictory emotions exist side by side within the girls. One respondent speaks of her sense of excitement at feeling different, but she speaks from the safety of her special friendship group – a place where she feels that all her friends are just like her:

[She has recently got a new pair of trainers]

"I feel happy that everybody notices that I've got new things; happy that not everybody has got the same things as me [...]. I feel different, so that's what makes me feel happy. I am not the same as everybody [...]." She says that she and her friends are all a bit different to most people in the class:
"We all hang around together; it's like we are all the same [...]. If you are with close friends, it's like they are the same as you, and they understand how you feel."

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

These twin desires to fit in and yet stand out, echo findings in Hogg and Banister's (2001) research into consumer experience. They talk of the desire for conformity alongside, *"a certain amount of difference"* (Hogg & Banister, 2001:88-89). One respondent in a focus group says, *"you conform to a certain image but within that image you all want something slightly different"* (Hogg & Banister, 2001:89). The latter authors also found friends and peers to be important reference groups. One respondent comments, *"yes, all my friends sort of dress the same sort of way as me, and you do conform to a certain dress code."* (Hogg & Banister, 2001:89). This is clearly very similar to comments made by respondents in the author's research.

As well as friendship and belonging, self-esteem is vitally important to the author's respondents, and, again, we can see how the clothes the girls choose can contribute to satisfying this value. The ladders elicited show that this is often achieved by the way in which clothes make the girls feel physically attractive, and/or help them to stand out in some small way. Speaking of how much she likes wearing fashionable clothes, one respondent says:

"It's good to dress up, to make an effort [...]; it makes you feel special, you feel proud of yourself; you feel good about yourself."

Respondent 10, UK, Clothing

Another respondent talks of how much she enjoys wearing well-known sportswear brands or designer labels [Nike, Kookai]:

"It's a well-known name [...]; you feel fashionable and trendy [...]. I don't feel like I look a total mess [...]; I feel good about myself."

Respondent 11, UK, Clothing

Nike trainers and designer labels also have the effect of drawing praise from important reference groups which, again, boosts self-esteem:

Nike trainers: "They are really 'cool', and nice and comfortable [...]. The older girls at school tell you you look really 'cool'; the 'cool' people notice you [...]. I feel good about myself."

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

One respondent was given a designer jacket – still a rarity among this age group:

"Everyone says, 'you're so lucky', I feel great. It's just that feeling when you look right; you feel good about yourself"

Respondent 10, UK, Clothing

The same respondent also enjoys wearing trendy sportswear brands:

"People look at you and think you look nice, and you think, 'I've made an effort, and it's worked', and I'm glad and proud of myself."

Respondent 10, UK, Clothing

If we look back at the Hierarchical Values Maps, a number of other values are also satisfied by different clothing choices: happiness, being satisfied or at ease with oneself, sense of identity and self, freedom/independence and security. Friendship and belonging and self-esteem, however, remain the most important values satisfied, with the opposing desires to stand out and to fit in, constantly at play. Interestingly, it is not that, at times, these girls want to fit in, and at other

times they want to stand out, but, rather, that they want to achieve **both** states, **all the time**. Standing out is only ever desirable within the context of acceptable limits that allow them, at the same time, to secure a safe and strong position within their chosen friendship group. Let us move on, now, to examine the findings from our Spanish, clothing interviews, highlighting the key differences and similarities with the UK research.

Clothing, Spain: Some General Comments

Just as in the UK research, there is frequent mention of the need to fit in, alongside the desire to be an individual, to be unique, and to wear the things that one likes without worrying too much about what others say. The overwhelming view is that it is better to look 'normal', as many respondents feel that people think badly of you if you wear out of the ordinary clothes, and may discriminate against you. Unlike in the UK interviews, there is little desire among the Spanish respondents to look older than they actually are.

Values Satisfied: Clothing, Spain

The two most dominant values identified are identical to those identified in the UK interviews. As with the UK research, clothing is strongly acknowledged as a means of fitting in with the peer group, avoiding criticism, ridicule or discrimination, and ensuring a sense of belonging and friendship within the peer group. Self-esteem also emerges as important. Unlike the UK research, only one other value is elicited with two or more relations between elements: sense of identity, self and individuality. The respondents frequently talk of the importance of expressing one's own taste, albeit within the bounds of what is considered normal, in order to achieve this sense of identity and self.

There are just two attributes at the root of the most dominant perceptual orientations: fashionable, and smart/elegant/special. As with the UK research, then, these are attributes that reflect how clothes look, and the image associated

with them. Sportswear is also mentioned, and this, too, has strong image associations. Other attributes reflect how clothes feel [good fit], how different clothes are suitable for different occasions [casual], or for different age groups. Well-known brand and quality material are also mentioned.

The most dominant consequences elicited in the author's research are expressions of how clothes make you feel [physical attractiveness], and of the emotional and psychological benefits that wearing certain clothes allows you to achieve [fit in, avoid being criticised or teased]. Although a little less dominant, other consequences elicited are also expressions of psychological benefits [e.g. feel cheerful, have right image, express own taste, feel proud, stand out], while a few are expressions of utilitarian benefits [e.g. feel comfortable, long-lasting].

It is worth reminding ourselves at this point that far fewer ladders were generated from the Spanish clothing interviews than was the case with the UK clothing interviews [129 in the UK compared to 73 in Spain]. The average number of ladders per respondent, that reached the values level, was only two in Spain, compared to over six in the UK. We should bear in mind, then, that the Spanish respondents linked attributes and consequences with higher order values less frequently than their UK counterparts. There are a number of reasons that this may have occurred, some of which have already been touched upon [see section 10.3]:

1. The Spanish respondents may have been less inclined to view clothing attributes as potential values satisfiers ;
2. The researcher may have lacked the skill and experience required to elicit values from a group of respondents whose language was different to her native tongue;
3. Some of the respondents may have felt uncomfortable 'opening up' completely with a foreign researcher. As has been suggested before [section 10.3], admitting to the importance of values such as the need for

friendship and belonging, entails exposing a degree of vulnerability that some respondents may not have felt comfortable with. Although friendship and belonging, self-esteem and sense of identity and self were all elicited in many ladders, there were also many ladders that stopped at the level of consequences [e.g. fit in, not be criticised]. These ladders *might* have led on to higher order values, had the researcher possessed the skill to elicit them.

In spite of this, however, the ladders that *were* constructed are just as informative as those constructed in the UK research. In addition, we should not forget that eliciting two ladders per respondent is perfectly acceptable in research of this type (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988); the author simply wishes to highlight the difference between the Spanish and English respondents' interviews.

We can see from the Hierarchical Values Maps that the responses are far more consistent in the Spanish research. Only three values emerge [friendship and belonging, self-esteem, and sense of identity and self], compared to seven values in the UK research, where the spread of responses is much broader. The most dominant perceptual orientation is as follows; it is strikingly similar to the most dominant orientation that emerges from the UK interviews:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Fashionable [A] → Fit in [C] → Avoid being criticised or teased [C] →
Friendship and Belonging [V]

The following quotes are typical of many respondents' comments relating to the need to fit in with their peer group:

One respondent comments that she has no desire to look older than she actually is, and clearly does not want to stand out:

"Mejor estoy con mi edad. Si te pones de mayor se van a fijar más en ti"
"I'm better off looking my own age. If you make yourself look older, people are going to notice you more."

Respondent 7, Spain, Clothing

Another respondent comments that she likes fashionable clothes because they are worn by lots of people. You know, therefore, that other people like them. She believes that it is good to feel the same as other people:

"No te sientes rara"
"You don't feel odd"

Respondent 1, Spain, Clothing

Echoing this view, another respondent states that she likes fashionable clothes, but not clothes that are too 'over the top':

"Porque no me gusta llamar la atención"
"Because I don't like to attract attention"

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

Similarly, another interviewee comments that fashionable clothes are a good thing because:

"Todo el mundo va igual que tú"
"Everyone looks the same as you"

Respondent 10, Spain, Clothing

As we have seen, a key reason that the girls need to fit in, is to avoid being criticised or teased. The following quote highlights this point very effectively:

"Los de mi clase, por ejemplo, son muy críticos; ya te juzgan por como vayas: 'Pues, mira, ésta lleva unos pantalones que no sé qué', y así todo el rato. Y ya tienen para hablar de tus pantalones todo el día."
"The people in my class, for example, are very critical; they judge you because of what you are wearing: 'Well, look, that girl's wearing I don't

know what kind of trousers', and they go on like that all the time. And they've got enough material to talk about your trousers all day long."

Respondent 3, Spain, Clothing

Another respondent takes this point even further, suggesting that people discriminate against you if you stand out from the crowd. She likes wearing Nike products because lots of people wear them, so she knows she'll blend in with everyone else:

"Si la mayoría de gente lleva esto, supongo que te hace pensar que no vas a destacar tú; [si destacas] hace que la gente te descrimine un poco."

"If most people are wearing this, I suppose it makes you think that you are not going to stand out; [if you do stand out] it makes people discriminate against you a bit."

Respondent 12, Spain, Clothing

As in the UK research, however, a desire to be a distinctive individual sits alongside this need to fit in with the peer group. One respondent comments on her liking for 'pantalones piratas' ['pirate trousers'], saying that it is important to wear clothes that you like, and to be an individual:

"A mi, eso no me gusta lo de ir todos iguales"

"For me, I don't like this business of everybody looking alike"

Respondent 4, Spain, Clothing

The same respondent comments on the need to fit in and stand out at the same time. Pointing to the fashionable, but unremarkable outfit she is wearing, she says she likes:

"Ir parecido a lo que se lleva ahora, pero no tampoco ir igual que los otros."

"To wear the kind of thing I'm wearing now, but not to look the same as the others"

Respondent 4, Spain, Clothing

This theme of needing to be like one's friends, but at the same time, to be an individual, is echoed by the following respondent. Talking of children's clothing with lots of pictures on it, she says:

"Si todo el mundo no la lleva, no voy a ser yo la única. [Pero,] después te das cuenta que eres tú, y si a ti te gusta, que más da lo que piensen los demás. [...] Me gusta ser como soy, y aceptar mi edad. Y la ropa que llevo me gusta, y ya está. Cada uno que piense lo que quiera."

"If nobody else is wearing it, I'm not going to be the only one. [But,] afterwards you realise that you are you, and if you like it, what does it matter what everybody else thinks. [...] I like to be the way I am, and accept my age. And I like the clothes I wear, and that's it. Other people can think what they want."

Respondent 10, Spain, Clothing

This need to 'be oneself' and express oneself through one's clothes, echoes Lee Taylor and Cosenza's (2002) findings. Their 16-20 year old female respondents have a, *"desire to fully express themselves. Clothing brands give them an avenue for doing so."* (Lee Taylor & Cosenza, 2002:393). This desire to assert one's own identity is again revealed in the following interviewee's comments. She wears sports clothes for gym class that are just a little bit different to everyone else's:

"Me gusta llevar la ropa que yo quiera, no ser igual que las demás."

"I like wearing the clothes that I want to wear, not to be the same as everyone else."

Respondent 4, Spain, Clothing

Another respondent expresses her desire to assert her own identity and individuality in very definite terms, and reveals the self-esteem she gains from having this strong sense of self. She says that she likes to 'mix and match' clothes imaginatively:

"Soy muy rara. [...] Me gusta mucho ir diferente a los demás [...]. Es como si tú misma te crearas tu ropa [...]. Entonces vas más orgullosa, [...] con tu conjunto que te has inventado tú misma."

"I am very strange. [...] I really like looking different to everyone else [...]. It's as if you're creating your own clothing [...]. Then you feel more proud of yourself, [...] with your outfit that you have invented yourself."

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

Even this girl, however, reveals the contradictory sentiments present in most of these respondents. She goes on to say that she does not like to attract attention, and so looking 'normal' is the best option:

"Si vas, no sé, más o menos normalita, todo el mundo te mira de otra manera. Más bien, te tratan mejor. [...] Si vas normal, eres gente normal, y no se hacen comentarios."

"If you look, I don't know, more or less normal, everybody looks at you differently. Or rather, they treat you better. [...] If you look normal, you must be a normal person, and nobody makes comments about you."

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

Many of the respondents' comments reflect the sense of self-esteem they gain from wearing clothes that they like, and that they know their friends like. For one girl, wearing popular 'hippie' style clothes makes her feel good about herself, while, for another, wearing clothes that make her look like the pop stars she admires [Cristina Aguilera, Britney Spears], has the same effect.

From these interviews, then, the clothing choices these girls make have a clear and definite impact on their self-esteem, and on their search for a sense of identity and self. Just as in the UK research, attempts to express themselves as unique individuals are always restricted by their own and their peer group's definition of what is 'normal'. Anyone who strays beyond the boundaries of normality is likely to be criticised, laughed at, and excluded from the group. Interestingly, the Spanish respondents express this desire for friendship and belonging in terms of wanting to avoid a negative outcome, more often than their English counterparts do. In other words, they speak in terms of their desire *not to be excluded* from a friendship group, rather than in terms of desiring inclusion. Clearly, though, it is deeply important to respondents of both nationalities to have a secure and integrated position within their peer group; an aspiration that can be at least partially achieved by the clothing they choose to wear.

The table below shows each country's most dominant perceptual orientation for each product category. It is clear from this that, in spite of the differences that have been highlighted between the two groups of respondents, there are some striking similarities. In terms of the ladders and values elicited, then, there is a high degree of homogeneity between the 11-12 year old English and Spanish girls.

Table 10: Most Dominant Perceptual Orientation For Each Country and Product Category

	SNACKS
UK	Nature of chocolate bar [e.g. ingredients] [A] → Pleasant physical sensation [C] → Well-being [V]
SPAIN	Nature of non-crisp snack [e.g. ingredients] [A] → Pleasant sensation/taste [C] → Well-being [V]
	CLOTHING
UK	Fashionable [A] → Stand out [C] → 'Stand in'/Fit in [C] → Friendship and belonging [V]
SPAIN	Fashionable [A] → Fit in [C] → Avoid being criticised or teased [C] → Friendship and belonging [V]

We will move on, now, to re-examine the values literature, to see what new insights we have gained, and what contribution we can now make to this body of academic work.

10.5 New Insights on Values Feeding Back Into Means-End Theory and the Values Literature

In this section, we will discuss the types of values elicited in the author's research, and we will examine these in the context of other academic research findings and theories on the subject of personal values. Having seen how the author's study contributes to and fits within the existing body of literature, we will assess whether there are any new ways we can extend means-end chain theory, so that it is more specifically relevant to respondent groups such as 11-12 year old, female, Spanish and English consumers.

Let us first present a summary of all the personal values elicited in the interviews that appear on the Hierarchical Values Maps [HVMs]. All the important values will be captured here, as each HVM accounts for over 70% of the data generated.

Table 11: Personal Values That Appear on HVMs

UK	SPAIN
Friendship and belonging Sense of identity and self Self-esteem Fun and enjoyment Well-being Happiness Freedom, independence Security Satisfied, at ease with oneself Social interaction Self-satisfaction Concern for others	Friendship and belonging Sense of identity and self, individuality Self-esteem Fun and enjoyment Well-being Good health

Focusing now on the most important values that emerge in the author's research, the following table presents those values that appear in the most dominant perceptual orientations:

Table 12: Values Appearing in Most Dominant Perceptual Orientations

UK	SPAIN
Well-being Self-esteem Friendship and belonging Self-satisfaction	Well-being Self-esteem Friendship and belonging Fun and enjoyment

The types of values that have emerged from the author's research could all be described as either inwardly-directed or socially-based. That is, the values that the respondents are seeking to satisfy through their brand choices relate to their inner, individual needs, or to how they, as individuals, find satisfaction from relating to others. The values expressed do not have an external orientation, as does, for instance, Rokeach's 'world of beauty' (Rokeach, 1969), nor do they have any kind of social conscience, as does 'a world at peace', 'equality', and 'national security' (ibid.).

It would seem reasonable to suggest, then, that the more narrowly focused values elicited in the author's research, are a function of the young age of the respondents. The values expressed would seem to reflect 11-12 year olds' greater need to focus on self, as they are in the process of defining themselves as individuals. The values expressed contribute to a positive sense of self, and a positive sense of the child's place within her peer group.

Table 13: Inwardly-Directed and Socially-Directed Values

INWARDLY-DIRECTED VALUES	SOCIALLY-DIRECTED VALUES
Satisfied, at ease with oneself Friendship and belonging Sense of identity and self Self-esteem Happiness Freedom, independence Security Fun and enjoyment [individual] Well-being Self-satisfaction Good health	Fun and enjoyment [group] Concern for others Social interaction

As we saw in our literature review, Riesman (1950) proposed three typologies of social character: tradition-directed, inner-directed, and other directed. While his work clearly relates to an adult population, the dimensions of inner-directed versus other-directed resonate with the author's findings. As discussed, many of the values listed in the tables are inner-directed [e.g. well-being, self-satisfaction, self-esteem, freedom, independence, sense of identity and self], while some are other-directed [e.g. friendship and belonging, social interaction, concern for others]. Riesman (1950) describes this typology as follows: "*Individuals become other-directed by expecting approval from contemporaries. Thus, an other-directed individual must receive and interpret signals from far and near.*" (Riesman, 1950:251). The author's respondents certainly combine their inner-directedness with a need for approval from their peer groups.

Elements of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs also have a resonance with the needs and values expressed in the author's study. Our findings suggest that the need for belongingness and self-esteem are key for the 11-12 year old respondents. We could, in fact, consider Maslow's framework as a hierarchy that one might progress along with age. Physiological and safety needs are likely to

be paramount in early childhood, while self-actualization needs will probably be more relevant in adulthood, if other needs in the hierarchy have been fulfilled. [Of course, the need for belongingness and self-esteem may also remain important in adulthood.]

If we move on now to consider Rokeach's Value Survey [RVS] (Rokeach, 1969), and Kahle's List of Values [LOV, which was derived from RVS] (Kahle et al, 1986), we can see that some of the values elicited in the author's research are reflected in these lists. The types of values that have emerged in the author's study are, then, partially consistent with those described for an adult population. The table presented below highlights the values elicited in the author's research, and shows comparable values from the RVS and LOV alongside them.

Table 14: Values Elicited in Author's Research, and Comparable Values From RVS and LOV

VALUES ELICITED IN AUTHOR'S RESEARCH	COMPARABLE VALUES: RVS	COMPARABLE VALUES: LOV
Friendship and belonging	True friendship	Sense of belonging
Sense of identity and self	n/a	n/a
Self-esteem	Self respect	Self respect
Fun and enjoyment	Pleasure	Fun and enjoyment in life
Well-being	n/a	n/a
Happiness	Happiness	n/a
Freedom, independence	Freedom	n/a
Security	Family security	Security
Satisfied, at ease with oneself	Inner harmony	n/a
Social interaction	n/a	n/a
Self-satisfaction	n/a	n/a
Good health	n/a	n/a
Concern for others	n/a	n/a

Kennedy (1995) believes that the List of Values (Kahle et al, 1986) is particularly relevant to children as, *"it is possible to explore a few core values that are relevant to a child's life such as fun and enjoyment, sense of belonging, and sense of accomplishment"* (Kennedy, 1995:48). These are, indeed, central values elicited in the author's research [Kennedy includes 'self-respect' within 'sense of accomplishment'], although the LOV (Kahle et al, 1986) does not cover all the values that emerge in the author's study. Kropp et al's (1999) cross-cultural comparison of values and group influences also uses the LOV (Kahle et al, 1986). Although this is not a study carried out with children, some of the findings resonate with the author's research. Three of the nine values were found to stand out for people who are highly susceptible to interpersonal influence, compared to those who are not: a sense of belonging, being well respected, and warm relationships with others (Kropp et al, 1999:117). Comparable values emerged as important in the author's research: Friendship and belonging, self-esteem, and social interaction. It seems reasonable to suggest that a common characteristic of the English and Spanish 11-12 year olds interviewed is that they, too, are highly susceptible to interpersonal influence.

As discussed in our literature review, there is little academic research that examines the subject of children's values. A gap in the literature clearly exists, and the author hopes that, in a small way, her study will make a contribution to this area. Beatty et al (1992) do explore values from a cross-generational perspective. They found that students were more hedonistic than their parents, who placed a greater emphasis on security and accomplishment (Beatty, Yoon, Kahle & Grunert, cited in Rose, 1997:395). Again, this 'strikes a chord' with the author's research, where fun and enjoyment were also found to be important for a younger audience. Lee and Beatty (1992) also discuss the importance of variety-seeking values, where people pursue, *"activities seeking to reduce boredom or to pursue pleasure."* (Lee & Beatty, 1992:254). As we have seen, there is a clear element of this boredom-reducing behaviour in the author's findings on snack choices [e.g. Spanish girls eating sunflower seeds as a distraction].

It is Christensen's (2002) research among 14-20 year olds, however, that resonates most strongly with the author's work. He calls these young people, 'Generation Search' as, although they want to have fun, *"they tend to search for more meaningful things in life: stability and harmony."* (Christensen, 2002:19). He goes on to say, *"This is why Generation Search feel their friends are so important. Friends are the ones they talk to about the things they cannot discuss with adults, and it is with their friends that they construct guidelines for their lives. [...] The trend is moving from an individualistic outlook to a more communal, peer-based one which recognises individuality. [...] Generation search are above all a generation that want to share and feel connected."* (Christensen, 2002:19-20). As we have seen, a sense of belonging and peer group approval are critical to the author's respondents. It is interesting to note that this need for 'connectedness' described by Christensen, is already well developed by the age of 11-12 years.

If we consider now the Values and Life Style [VALS] typologies (Mitchell, 1983; Holman, 1984), we can see how the author's respondents might fit within the proposed types. The girls interviewed are clearly 'Belongers' while they also have a strong element of 'I-am-me's', and a degree of being 'Achievers' and 'Experientials'. Mitchell (1983), echoing Riesman's (1950) earlier work, believed that once basic needs are met, people can develop their values in two general ways, *"by emphasising social values through an over-riding concern about what other people think [the outer-directed], or by emphasizing inner needs and self-expression [the inner-directed], or by integrating the best of outer and inner-directedness into distinctive lifestyles [the integrated]"* (Lee & Beatty, 1992:253). The English and Spanish girls, then, clearly have a strong element of outer-directedness [e.g. need for friendship and belonging, social interaction, concern for others], alongside a high degree of inner-directedness [e.g. sense of identity and self, self-esteem, freedom/independence, satisfied/at ease with oneself]. The author could not claim that these girls integrate the best of both types of values; indeed, they probably lack the maturity to achieve such an 'integrated' status; but their inner and outer-directed needs certainly co-exist within them.

It is interesting to discuss the concepts of inner-directedness and outer-directedness (Mitchell, 1983; Lee & Beatty, 1992) or inner-directedness and other-directedness, as described by Riesman (1950), as expressions of individualist and collectivist cultures. Rose (1997) asserts, "*The distinction between a collectivist and an individualist culture is probably the most important concept in cross-cultural psychology.*" (Rose, 1997:392). He refers to Triandis' (1989) work, and describes an individualist culture as one where, "*The emphasis is on individual development and self-actualization. Individuals are taught to resist group pressure; and conformity carries a negative connotation [...]. Collectivist cultures are marked by a strong association with a few in-groups. The self is largely defined by association with these in-groups. In contrast, individualists have weak affiliations with many groups.*" (Rose, 1997:392).

The English and Spanish respondents' over-riding need to fit in with their peer groups suggests they have a strong collectivist orientation. One feels, however, that they aspire to a more individualist orientation, in their desire to express their identities as unique individuals. In our literature review, we saw that the UK, as a culture, scores very highly on individualism, while Spain scores fairly highly (Hofstede, 1983). We could suggest, therefore, that the collectivist orientation is a function of the respondents' young age, and that this orientation may weaken as they move into adulthood, to be replaced by a more individualist perspective.

Much values research highlights the emphasis placed on the self versus others (Rose, 1997). Rose (1997) suggests that, in Schwartz's (1994) work, this dimension could be defined as self-transcendence [universalism, benevolence] versus conservation [security, conformity, tradition]. As we saw in our literature review, Schwartz (1994) claims "*near universality*" for, "*the four higher order value types*" [openness to change, self-transcendence, conservation and self-enhancement] (Schwartz, 1994:42). The author finds support for strong elements of conservation among her respondents, as security and conformity are clearly important. There are also elements of openness to change [self-direction, stimulation and hedonism] in the values of fun and enjoyment, and

freedom/independence, as well as a degree of self-enhancement and self-transcendence. The following table summarises these points:

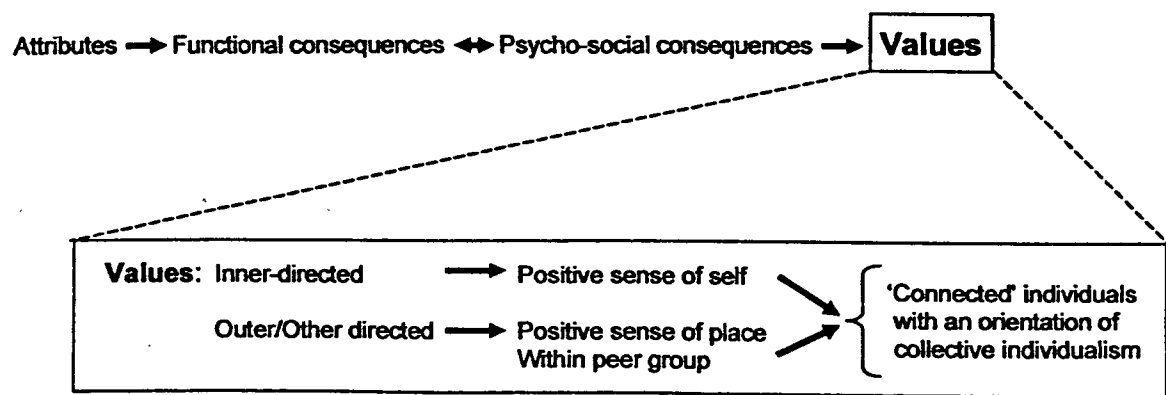
Table 15: How the Author's Findings Relate to Schwartz's (1994) Higher Order Value Types

SCHWARTZ'S (1994) HIGHER ORDER VALUE TYPES	COMPARABLE VALUES ELICITED IN AUTHOR'S RESEARCH
Openness to change [hedonism, stimulation, self-direction]	Fun and enjoyment Freedom/independence
Self-transcendence [universalism, benevolence]	Concern for others
Conservation [conformity/tradition, security]	Friendship and belonging Security
Self-enhancement [achievement, power]	Self-esteem Sense of identity and self

Let us summarise our conclusions, then, having examined the values elicited in the author's research, alongside academic literature on the subject of values. The values that the respondents are seeking to satisfy can be described as inner-directed (Riesman, 1950; Mitchell, 1983) and outer or other-directed (ibid.). Hence, they display traits of both, 'I-am-me's' and 'Belongers' (Mitchell, 1983). This sense of belonging, along with self-esteem (Maslow, 1954), is critically important to them. These respondents are highly susceptible to interpersonal influence (Kropp et al, 1999), and have a strong need to feel 'connected' with their peer groups (Christensen, 2002). Their overall orientation, then, is highly collectivist, but their individualist aspirations are voiced on many occasions: they all want to define a unique identity for themselves. Their apparently contradictory values sit quite comfortably alongside each other. Bringing together these opposing strands, we could define these respondents as wishing to be 'connected' individuals, and as displaying an orientation of 'collective individualism'.

Using the slightly adjusted means-end chain model presented in section 10.3.1 [Attributes → Functional consequences ↔ Psycho-social consequences → Values or Goals: based on Olson & Reynolds, 2001] we can now add the above information, and make this model more specific for our 11-12 year old Spanish and English respondents:

Figure 31: 11-12 Year Old Respondents’ Means-End Chains



Let us move on, now, to examine the new insights we can glean from our findings, in relation to the importance of brands.

10.6 Role and Importance of Snacks and Clothing Brands: UK and Spain

Snacks Brands, UK

Overall, the English respondents have a pragmatic, sensible attitude towards snacks brands. Taste is paramount, and no amount of branding will persuade these girls to eat something that does not taste good. However, brand names do play an important role in generating a sense of trust and reassurance. Brands are very much a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves; they are instrumental in achieving a certain effect. For example, the girls believe they can avoid being laughed at, or even ‘picked on’ by their peers, by having a known and trusted snack brand. As one interviewee says, with a well-known brand:

"you know that you're not the only people that like it, and you know you can buy it again, [...] because that you know that you're not going to be, like, the 'odd one out'"

Respondent 3, UK, Snacks

This use of a branded product as a mechanism for fitting in with one's peer group, comes out even more strongly in the following quote:

"If I like it then I'll take it [to school], but I think I would have to have something in my lunch-box that other people have [...]; otherwise people might laugh at you"

Respondent 7, UK, Snacks

Consumers' fears that, *"kids are under too much pressure to possess the right brands so that they fit in with other children"* (Keynote Research, Brand Strategy, 2003:37) highlighted in section 3.2, appear, then, to be well-founded.

Some respondents mentioned a need for approval of their snack choice – notably, crisps - by their friends, as crisps are something the girls share. As one respondent says:

"[...] we sort of agree on a flavour together, rather than just me choose one."

Respondent 1, UK, Snacks

The above findings echo those of Preston (2000), discussed in section 3.2. He discovered that many advertisements link certain brands to popularity, in the minds of children, as one of his respondents says:

"The adverts [...] showed that if you had this in your lunchbox, you would have everyone wanting to sit next to you." (Preston, 2000:117).

The author's respondents are clearly forming impressions of people, *"based on the image and meanings of the brand name identified with the product"*

(Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003:217). It is clear from the author's research that, as the literature suggests, 11-12 year olds have gained an understanding of the symbolic meaning of brands (Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003:205).

Walkers was spontaneously mentioned most frequently as the favourite brand, with the wide range of flavours highlighted as a benefit. Walkers is, indeed, the leading brand of crisps in the UK, with a turnover of over £136 million, and pre-tax profits, in 2001, of £17.3 million (Keynote Research, 2003). Walkers is, perhaps, the IBM of the snacks world: nobody is going to laugh at you for buying a packet of Walkers' crisps.

Although the following ladders were not among the top six, they emerged as relatively important:

Brand name → [11.1] Reassurance → [3.0] Well-being

Brand name → [1.2] Sociability → [4.1] Friendship and belonging

Brand name → [1.2] Sociability → [6.0] Fun and enjoyment

NB: Numbers in brackets refer to the number of direct [to the left of the decimal point] and indirect [to the right of the decimal point] relations between attributes, consequences and values.

The reassurance generated by the brand name, then, leads to a sense of well-being. In addition, particular brands can enhance peer group interaction, creating a sociable environment, and leading to, either, fun and enjoyment, or to a deepened sense of belonging among the peer group. It is possible, then, to view the role snacks brands play in both a positive and a negative light. The enhancement of peer group interaction, the sociability and the fun generated are all, surely, positive results. The concern, however, that one may be laughed at or excluded from the peer group if one fails to bring a well-known snack brand to school, can only be a negative outcome. Let us move on, now, to discuss how the role of Spanish snacks brands compares to the role of UK brands.

Snacks Brands, Spain

In contrast to the UK findings, the brand name is not considered very important where snacks are concerned. During the course of the author's interviews, there were four mentions of brand name leading directly to trust or reassurance. As one respondent says:

"Si es una marca que se oye mucho, es porque el producto será bueno".

"If it's a brand name you hear a lot, that means the product will be good".

Respondent 7, Spain, Snacks

Some Spanish respondents, then, like the English respondents, feel reassured by having a well-known snack brand. This is not, however, among the strongest ladders, and does not lead to the satisfaction of any values. Overall, brand names are not particularly strong in this product category. As we have seen, unbranded snacks such as sunflower seeds and various 'tapas' are very common in Spain, and are often enjoyed by the author's respondents. What one brings to school in one's lunch-box does not emerge as an issue, as it does for the UK respondents. The canteen at the respondents' school sells hot and cold meals, and it is more common for the Spanish respondents to have a hot meal at lunch-time, than it is for the English respondents.

For the Spanish respondents, then, enjoying a certain snack brand does not create the sociability, fun, and sense of integration within the peer group that it does for some of the English respondents; but neither does the lack of a certain brand create a feeling of concern among the Spanish girls. As we have seen, the Spanish respondents eat fewer snacks than their English counterparts, but when they do, the question of whether their snack is branded or unbranded is largely irrelevant.

Clothing Brands, UK

Overall, particular generic clothing types or styles emerge as more important for the English girls than particular brands; for example, flares or crop tops. This is somewhat similar to Lee Taylor & Cosenza's (2002) findings [investigating

clothing choice among 16-20 year old girls], where they found that brand/label was important, *“but in our survey was last in rank”* (Lee Taylor & Cosenza, 2002:393), after such aspects as fit, look and style.

When asked about favourite brands, most of the girls think in terms of retail brands, such as Tammy Girl or New Look. They express an interest in and preference for certain retail brands, but all the respondents shop in a wide variety of stores. Sportswear brands such as Nike or Reebok do, however, emerge quite strongly as desirable products. These are brands that can enhance the respondents' self-esteem. Referring to Nike, one respondent says:

“It's a well-known name [...], you feel fashionable and trendy [...]; I don't feel like I look a total mess [...]; I feel good about myself.”

Respondent 11, UK, Clothing

In a similar vein, another respondent says of her Nike trainers:

“They are really ‘cool’, and nice and comfortable [...]; the older girls at school tell you you look really ‘cool’, the ‘cool’ people notice you [...]; I feel good about myself”

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

The brand, then, is helping this respondent to be noticed and admired. These findings echo those in Preston's (2000) work. One of his respondents describes why it is important to have the best trainers in terms of avoiding a negative reaction, rather than gaining a positive reaction. The following quote highlights the complexity behind this issue:

“We feel that we all have to get the best trainers that are advertised so we don't get slagged off.”

(Preston, 2000:130)

Another respondent focuses on the popularity one can gain wearing a well-known brand; a popularity hinted at by respondent 12, above:

"The Gap advert shows the clothes that they wear are making them really cool, and have lots of friends around."

(Preston, 2000:130)

As we saw in section 3.2, brands confer status on their owners, but also, *"begin to symbolize group identity and sense of belonging to certain groups"* (Roedder John, 1999:194). Roedder John highlights Jamison's (1996) research, where sixth graders [approximately 11 years of age] see clothes as a means of fitting in, and as a way to identify membership in a particular sub-group. One 11 year old boy says:

"I wear what I wear because it is in style [...]; it also makes me feel real 'cool'. Some of the kinds of clothes I like are Nike, Guess, Levi's and Reebok [...]. I also blend in with all the other people at school and everywhere else I go."

(Roedder John, 1999:194)

As we have seen, the desire to look 'cool', alongside the need to blend in with peer groups is echoed strongly in the author's research. In the latter's study, however, we find that this standing out and fitting in can be achieved by having a certain style and look, without the brand name necessarily being important. Eclecticism is acceptable, as long as the look is 'right'.

Among the English respondents there is a fairly strong interest in designer labels. These are often brands they aspire to own, rather than brands they actually own. For many, they signify high quality, and wearing them would clearly make the respondents feel good about themselves, contributing to their self-esteem.

Overall, then, sportswear brands such as Nike and Reebok, and [to a lesser extent] designer labels, play an important role for the English respondents. They confer status, enhance self-esteem, and can increase popularity among one's peer group. Many respondents, however, are equally happy wearing fashionable *styles* of clothing, rather than particular brands of clothing. Having a particular look or style allows them to align themselves with a certain peer group, and brand name, here, is often not an important factor.

Clothing Brands, Spain

As in the UK interviews, generic clothing types [such as tight trousers, flares, cropped trousers or tops] are mentioned far more frequently than brand names. The Spanish respondents think of retail brands first when discussing brands, just as the English respondents do. 'Well-known brand' does emerge, however, as a fairly important attribute. As in the UK interviews, sportswear brands such as Nike and Reebok are the most frequently mentioned brands. These are considered 'good brands'. They are often liked because lots of people wear them, and it is considered positive to own brands that other people own. As one respondent says, referring to Nike:

"Si la mayoría de gente lleva esto, supongo que te hace pensar que no vas a destacar tū; [si destacas] hace que la gente te discrimine un poco."

"If most people wear this, I suppose it makes you think that you're not going to stand out; [if you do stand out] it makes people discriminate against you a bit."

Respondent 12, Spain, Clothing

This sportswear brand, then, helps the respondent to avoid being discriminated against; wearing Nike is a way for her to blend in with the crowd, and fit in with her peer group. As was the case with the English respondents, however, these sportswear brands also provide a way for the respondents to stand out and look special, and to gain popularity – in this example, with the opposite sex:

"Ropa de marca destaca mucho más que la ropa que es más normal, sin marcas. Las chicas llevamos marcas para gustar a los chicos".

"Branded clothes stand out much more than clothes that are more normal, unbranded. Girls wear brands to attract boys."

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

A slightly negative attitude towards branded clothing emerges among some Spanish respondents; an attitude that does not really emerge in the UK research. There is some evidence of disdain for people who wear lots of expensive brands. They are viewed as 'show-offs'; people who are trying to impress others by

showing them they have enough money to wear branded clothes. One girl expresses her disdain for people who are only attracted to others who wear branded clothing:

“ha habido casos que [...] hasta han tenido hijos [...] por las marcas [...] así que es posible por las marcas casarse.”

“there have been cases where [...] they’ve even had children [...] because of brands [...] so it’s possible to get married because of brands.”

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

Generally, there is little interest in designer labels such as Calvin Klein, because they are simply not considered relevant to this age group. Unlike many of the English girls, most of these respondents do not want to look older than they actually are.

Overall, then, sportswear brands are often worn as a means of fitting in with the peer group, as well as making respondents feel special and more popular, just as we found in the UK research. In Ole Christensen’s work on changing attitudes among European youth (2002), he comes to the conclusion that:

“Brands are still – to some degree – about status, but especially about gaining recognition and respect from their friends. [...] For Generation Search [14-20 year olds], brands are tools for communicating who they are. [...] Having the right brands gives Generation Search a sense of security and self-confidence – that they fit in with their peers”

(Christensen, 2002:25)

This quote could, to a certain extent, be applied to the author’s respondents, if we consider sportswear brands in both the UK and Spain, designer labels in the UK, and certain snacks brands in the UK. For both the Spanish and English respondents, however, at the age of 11-12 years, at least, a deepened sense of belonging within one’s friendship group, along with self-esteem, can be generated by creating a certain look and style. This look and style must, of course, be compatible with one’s peers, but it is not necessarily dependent on having any particular brand name.

Having examined the role and importance of branding, in relation to the author's findings, let us now take a more detailed look at what our findings reveal, regarding the relationship between consumption/brands and the respondents' sense of self.

10.7 Relationship Between Consumption/Brands and One's Sense of Self

In this section we will re-examine the academic literature on this subject, in the light of the author's findings. We have seen that the 'self' is said to evolve through the process of social experience, and from the reactions of others, and that, *"self-enhancement can take place through association with goods which have a desirable social meaning and from the favorable reaction of significant references"* (Grubb et al, 1967:25). It is clear from the author's research that the respondents are constantly seeking ways of gaining positive reactions from their peers, and that, in this way, they can enhance their sense of self. As one respondent says:

" You want to dress up 'cool' in school; you want to get noticed really, because you are in front of all these year 11 and year 10s that pass you."

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

Referring to her Nike trainers, the same respondent goes on to say:

"The older girls at school tell you you look really 'cool'; the 'cool' people notice you."

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

A Spanish respondent comments that the opinion of certain people – her sister, her mother, and her friends – is very important to her. For this reason, she likes buying her clothes from a particular store: 'Zara'. 'Zara' stocks lots of popular fashions:

"Prefiero llevar algo que a la gente le guste y todo eso"

"I prefer wearing something that people like and all that"

Respondent 4, Spain, Clothing

Another Spanish respondent enjoys wearing 'hippy' style clothes, and so do her friends. She also expresses the need for approval from others, saying that it is good to feel that her friends think she looks nice. The need for approval from friends is, again, evident when the English respondents discuss the snacks they eat. The following comment is typical of many:

"I think I would have to have something in my lunch-box that other people have."

Respondent 7, UK, Snacks

Although this need for approval emerges less strongly among the Spanish girls, where snacks are concerned, one respondent does comment that she would not like to buy a snack that no-one had ever heard of:

"Ver que todos tienen lo mismo y yo distinta, pues no sé qué pensarían de mí" "If I see that everyone has the same and I have something different, well, I don't know what they would think of me".

Respondent 9, Spain, Snacks

Hogg and Banister (2001) assert that: *"The notions of conformity and affiliation are clearly connected to self-concept formation principles [...] in the social context of significant others and important reference groups."* (Hogg & Banister, 2001:89). It is clear from the author's research that the need to conform and gain approval from others who are important to them, that we see emerging so strongly, is closely related to the girls' development of self-concept.

We saw in our literature review [see section 3.4], however, that there are different aspects of self-concept that can be explored. Schenk & Holman (1980) refer to

the situational self-image, discussing how different brand or product choices might be relevant to different situational self-images. We find evidence of this when both English and Spanish respondents talk of the different clothing choices they make, depending on the occasion. One English girl talks of wearing her best Donna Karan outfit to a wedding:

"I love the fit and the look of it [...]. I feel good that I'm wearing something nice [...]. It's respectful to look the best you can [at a wedding]. If people say you look stunning, you feel good"

Respondent 9, UK, Clothing

Another respondent enjoys wearing smart clothes when she goes out to a restaurant:

"They make you feel posh [...]. It just makes you feel grown up really."

Respondent 7, UK, Clothing

Similarly, a Spanish respondent likes to wear a smart skirt if she is going out for a meal. It makes her feel more comfortable as she feels she has adapted to her surroundings [Respondent 2, Spain, Clothing]. A different, English respondent enjoys wearing her blazer at school. She feels proud of her school blazer, and believes that it is important to look smart in front of the teachers and create a good impression:

"It makes me feel proud of myself."

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

Another respondent talks about how she enjoys wearing a sparkly dress and being noticed if she is at a disco, but not on other occasions:

"I don't know why but, when you are out you don't want to [be noticed], but when you are having a disco with your friends, you don't mind if people think you look 'cool' or whatever [...]. It is good to be noticed, because it

just is. People won't like you if you are out of things. [...] If I was noticed, the 'cool' people would want to be next to me, whereas if I was, like, looking really boring and plain, all the cool people would go together, and I would be left to go with the horrid people."

Respondent 6, UK, Clothing

The concept of situational self-image (Schenk & Holman, 1980) is clearly relevant here, then, as all of these respondents have a different image of themselves on different occasions; an image that they help create through the clothes that they wear. The author feels that the concepts of 'actual self' and 'ideal self' (Dolich, 1969; Quester et al, 2000) are also relevant to her research. The apparently contradictory statements regarding the desire to blend in, and yet, stand out, could be a result of the 'actual self' and 'ideal self' clashing. The following quotes highlight some of the contradictions evident in the interviewees' responses:

"I want to be the same, but not exactly the same [...]. I don't want to be like sheep and follow everyone else."

Respondent 8, UK, Clothing

"Si todo el mundo no la lleva, no voy a ser yo la única. [...] Después te das cuenta que eres tú, y si a ti te gusta, qué más da lo que piensen los demás."

"If nobody else is wearing it, I'm not going to be the only one. [...] Afterwards, you realise that you are you, and if you like it, what does it matter what other people think."

Respondent 10, Spain, Clothing

"Soy muy rara [...], me gusta mucho ir diferente a los demás [...]. Si vas, no sé, más o menos normalita, todo el mundo te mira de otra manera. Más bien, te tratan mejor."

"I am very strange [...], I really like looking different to everyone else [...]." Subsequently, however, the respondent appears to change her mind about how wise it is to look different: *"If you look, I don't know, more or*

less normal, everyone looks at you differently. Or rather, they treat you better."

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

Examining these quotes, then, it is as if the 'actual self' wants to blend in, appear normal, go unnoticed, while the more confident, 'ideal self' wants to stand out from the crowd, and be seen as a unique individual. In their minds, they want to be seen as distinctive and different, but, in practice, they opt for the security of blending in with all their friends.

The author's research supports the view that objects can enhance one's sense of self (Belk, 1988), and can act as symbolic expressions of who we are (Furby, 1991). The respondents clearly associate different types of clothing with different types of people. One Spanish respondent talks with disdain of girls who wear mini-skirts:

"Parece ir de tonta por ahí [...]; es muy pija también"

"They walk around looking stupid [...]; they're really spoilt too"

Respondent 8, Spain, Clothing

People who look 'scruffy' also come in for heavy criticism from a different respondent:

"Si vas mal, te dicen que eres de un basurero"

"If you look scruffy, people say you come from a slum"

Respondent 6, Spain, Clothing

More specifically, when Gunter & Furnham (1998) describe how possessions contribute to children's sense of self, they talk of different objects providing enjoyment, independence, emotional security, and individuality. The author's findings concur with this, given that, as we have seen, these are all among the values elicited in the laddering interviews. Furby (1978) and Guber & Berry (1993) all talk of the increased concern, in early adolescence, with establishing

one's independence and identity. We have seen how the respondents express a keen desire to assert their individuality, and the following examples will serve to highlight this point further. Stressing her independence, a Spanish respondent comments that it is important to eat what *you* like, not what your friends like:

"Cada una tiene un gusto"

"Everyone has their own taste"

Respondent 7, Spain, Snacks

In a similar vein, but this time on the subject of clothing, an English respondent says:

"You shouldn't let your friends take over what you wear; you should wear what you feel like wearing."

Respondent 3, UK, Clothing

Various Spanish respondents echo this sentiment:

"Me visto con lo que quiero y ya está"

"I wear what I want and that's it"

Respondent 3, Spain, Clothing

"Me gusta llevar la ropa que yo quiera, no ser igual que las demás"

"I like wearing the clothes that I like, not being the same as everyone else"

Respondent 4, Spain, Clothing

"Si yo me encuentro cómoda con una cosa, pues tampoco me importa tanto lo demás"

"If I feel comfortable in something, the rest doesn't really matter to me"

Respondent 12, Spain, Clothing

"Me parece bien que cada uno tenga su estilo de ponerse la ropa, y que todas vistan como prefieran."

"I think it's good that everyone has their own style when it comes to wearing clothes, and that everyone dresses how they want to."

Respondent 5, Spain, Clothing

"Si me gusta a mí, a mí me da igual que a ellos no les guste [...]; es importante ser más individual, más libre"

"If I like it, I couldn't care less if they don't like it [...]; it's important to be more individual, more free"

Respondent 10, Spain, Clothing

We should not forget, however, that these assertive comments must be seen within the context of an equally strong desire to fit in and blend in with one's peer group. To what extent do these girls use brands as a means of establishing their identity (Roedder John, 2002)? In the previous section [section 10.6] we saw how brands can help one to fit in with one's friendship groups, and also to stand out. We have also seen that branded products are often trusted more than unbranded products [section 10.6]. One respondent likes to wear Nike, Adidas and Reebok, but makes sure she does not have exactly the same product as her friends, as she believes it is important to have her own style [Respondent 1, Spain, Clothing]. Another respondent enjoys wearing Nike and Adidas as this is a way of showing that you are at the same level as your friends [Respondent 6, Spain, Clothing]. An English respondent expresses her delight at wearing a 'Gap' hooded jumper:

"'Hey, I've got a 'cool' brand on me [...]; everybody looks at it and thinks it's 'cool'; everyone notices you."

Respondent 6, UK, Clothing

The same respondent would also love to be able to wear an Armani outfit:

"It looks really 'cool'. It makes other people want to be friends with you; people come up to you and want to get to know you."

Respondent 6, UK, Clothing

In these cases, then, branded products are, indeed, being used to create an identity. The view is that certain brands can turn you into a 'cool', popular person that everybody wants to know. A more negative view of the kind of person who wears expensive brands is, however, presented by a Spanish respondent. She believes that people wear them:

"para ser el centro de atención. Más bien para chulearse, que todo el mundo esté pendiente de ellos. Y en el fondo es muy malo. Porque acabarán no respetando nada, siendo ellos los mejores, creyendose."

"to be the centre of attention. To show off, to feel that everyone's hanging on their every word. And basically it's very bad. Because they will end up not respecting anything, believing that they're better than everyone else."

Respondent 10, Spain, Clothing

Whether a person wearing expensive brands is an unbearable show-off or the 'coolest' person in the class, these respondents clearly see clothing brands as a mechanism for establishing identity, as Roedder John (2002) suggests. As one might expect, snacks brands do not have the same role to play, being less 'ego-involving' than clothing brands (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985). Belk (1988), however, talks of sharing food as a symbolic way of sharing group identity. Indeed, we can find support for this idea in the author's findings, particularly among the English respondents. One girl buys large packets of crisps specifically because:

"there's enough in there to share with your friends [...]; it makes them happy; that makes me feel happy."

Respondent 8, UK, Snacks

Another respondent expresses her satisfaction at being able to share her Twix with a friend, because it has two sticks:

"because although you get to eat it as well, you're giving it to someone else."

Respondent 9, UK, Snacks

Commenting on how Sips crisps crackle in one's mouth, a different respondent says:

"You eat it with your friends and you all laugh about it."

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

These girls gain a sense of strong integration within their peer group by sharing their snacks and, in this way, could be said to have found a symbolic way of sharing a group identity.

Overall, then, the author's research demonstrates that the respondents use the brands or products they wear and consume to help define their self-concept (Grubb et al, 1967; Hogg & Banister, 2001). Situational (Schenk & Holman, 1980), actual and ideal self-images (Dolich, 1969; Quester et al, 2000) are all relevant to the author's study. Clothing, in particular, is seen as a symbolic expression of who we are (Furby, 1991). Both snacks and clothing products can be used to assert individuality, as well as, in the case of snacks, to share a certain group identity. While the brand name is not always relevant when it comes to creating an identity and sense of self, there is evidence that, for many respondents, particular brands of clothing send out strong signals regarding a person's character and image. This is less the case for snacks brands, as they are not as ego-involving as clothing brands. Nevertheless, we have seen that some of the British respondents fear being laughed at if they do not have the 'right' snack brand [see section 10.6]. We will now turn our attention to the subject of involvement levels in snacks and clothing brands, examining what the author's findings can add to this debate.

10.8 Involvement Levels in Snacks and Clothing Brands: UK and Spain

The means-end chain approach has provided us with an effective technique for understanding consumer involvement levels in our chosen product categories. As discussed earlier [see section 4.1], *“Means-end chains can help marketers understand consumers’ product involvement because they show how knowledge about product attributes is related to their knowledge about self.”* (Peter & Olson, 1987, cited in Claes & Vanden Abeele, 2001:368). Let us examine the potential indices of involvement proposed by Claes & Vanden Abeele (2001), based on our Hierarchical Values Maps. The first two factors to take into account are the number of means-end chains elicited, and the highest level of abstraction reached. As we have already seen [section 9.3], a high number of ladders reaching the level of values was generated in the UK snacks interviews [on average, 5.25 ladders per respondent], the Spanish snacks interviews [on average, 4.7 ladders per respondent], and the UK clothing interviews [on average, 6.5 ladders per respondent]. If we accept the theory, then, that high numbers of linkages between elements reflect high levels of involvement (Claes & Vanden Abeele, 2001; Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000), we can see that the degree of involvement in each of these areas is, indeed, high.

The Spanish clothing interviews were the only interviews where relatively fewer means-end chains reaching the values level were generated [just over two ladders per respondent]. This implies a slightly lower level of involvement in this product category, although, as discussed earlier, the lower number of ladders generated could have been due to the researcher’s inexperience [see section 10.3.1].

Claes & Vanden Abeele (2001) also suggest using the following characteristics to assess involvement: *“the number of values mentioned, their centrality or importance to the consumer, and their nature [instrumental vs. terminal]”* (Claes & Vanden Abeele, 2001:371). If we look back at the Hierarchical Values Maps again, the number of values elicited ranges from three for the Spanish

clothing interviews, to four for the Spanish snacks interviews, to seven for the UK snacks fieldwork and the UK clothing fieldwork.

Although the quantity of values elicited in the Spanish fieldwork was quite low, the importance and centrality of these values would be considered high: they include the need for friendship and belonging, well-being, sense of identity, and self-esteem, as well as good health and fun and enjoyment – all of which are values which deeply affect the respondents' inner being. In addition, all the values that appear on the Hierarchical Values Maps are terminal values, with the exception of 'concern for others': an instrumental value. Using Claeys & Vanden Abeele's (2001) approach, then, we could argue that both sets of respondents show high levels of involvement in both product categories.

Let us turn our attention, now, to Laurent & Kapferer's (1985) five facets of involvement, and examine each facet in relation to our findings:

Table 16: Respondents' Involvement in the Chosen Product Categories

	SNACKS UK	SNACKS SPAIN	CLOTHING UK	CLOTHING SPAIN
Perceived importance	High	High	High	High
Perceived risk:				
~ Importance of negative consequences	Medium	Low	High	High
~ Probability of mistake	Medium	Low	High	High
Symbolic value	Medium	Low	High	High
Hedonic value, emotional value	High	High	High	High

It is clear from our discussion in previous sections [for example, 10.4, 10.6, and 10.7] that clothing is a high involvement product category for both nationalities. The perceived importance, the symbolic and hedonic value are all high, as demonstrated by the sheer delight the respondents experience when they are wearing the 'right' clothing:

"I feel great – it's just that feeling when you look right"

Respondent 10, UK, Clothing

"Hey, I've got a 'cool' brand on me!"

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

A Spanish respondent comments that she loves wearing certain sports clothes:

"Me siento más libre"

"I feel more free"

Respondent 9, Spain, Clothing

The perceived risks associated with 'getting it wrong', on the other hand, are severe:

"You don't want people to stare at you so much that you feel you're the odd one out, like the ugly duckling."

Respondent 12, UK, Clothing

"Sometimes you can feel a bit tired and grotty if you are wearing the wrong sort of clothes."

Respondent 8, UK, Clothing

"[Si destacas] hace que la gente te descrimine un poco"

"[If you stand out] it makes people discriminate against you a bit"

Respondent 12, Spain, Clothing

"Me gusta que se fijen un poco pero no destacar. [Si destaco] me pongo muy nerviosa, con mucha vergüenza, y comienzo a sudar"

"I like people to look at me a little bit, but I don't like really standing out. [If I stand out] I get really nervous, I feel really embarrassed and start to sweat."

Respondent 8, Spain, Clothing

While snacks brands are less obviously involving, we still see a high level of involvement, especially among the English respondents. We saw in our literature review [section 4.1] that, in Ratchford's (1987) study, snacks score low for involvement overall, because of the short deliberation time when making a purchase. For the author's respondents, however, the extent of deliberation is fairly high, as girls often choose snacks together at break-time. The perceived importance of snacks brands is high, as eating them is an integral part of the school day, and the hedonic value cannot be disputed:

"[Twiglets] liven you up a bit; they make you feel better."

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

The following respondent enjoys eating chocolate with a biscuit filling:

"I like eating... I like the taste of food [...]. It makes me feel happy"

Respondent 8, UK, Snacks

"[Lion Bar]. It's crunchy, and hard, and soft; it's chewy and it dissolves [...]. It gives you an adventurous feeling."

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

"[Maltesers]. You suck it and it dissolves like little air balls. It makes you feel light and airy"

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

The risk associated with a wrong choice is also high for these respondents, as children can be laughed at or teased if they have a snack that is different to their friends'. As one respondent says,

"I think I would have to have something in my lunch-box that other people have."

Respondent 7, UK, Snacks

Although involvement in snacks brands is lower among the Spanish respondents, the two indicators of enduring involvement – perceived importance and hedonic value (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985) – are both rated ‘high’ by the author. Just as for the English girls, snacks are an indispensable part of the day, although they do not necessarily take the form of branded crisps or chocolate bars. The respondents enjoy a range of tastes and flavours, and all comment on the pleasure of eating. For example,

“[Donuts] saben bien. Me siento bien.”

“[Doughnuts] taste good. I feel good.”

Respondent 7, Spain, Snacks

If we consider whether these product categories have a potential for symbolic positioning, as described by Munson & Spivey (1980), it is clear that clothing has a high potential for symbolic expression. Our findings also show, however, a potential for symbolic positioning among snacks brands. Although, as we have seen, many of the consequences elicited are utilitarian [section 10.3.1], some are emotional and psychological. Consequences such as sociability and amusement, and values such as friendship and belonging, well-being and fun and enjoyment, all elicited in both the UK and Spanish field-work, demonstrate a high potential for a more symbolic appreciation of snacks products. These findings concur with Park, Jaworski and MacInnis' (1986) view that, *“any product [...] can be positioned with a functional, symbolic or experiential image.”* (Park, Jaworski & MacInnis, 1986).

We have demonstrated high levels of involvement, then, for both sets of respondents, in both product categories, using Claey's & Vanden Abeele's (2001) indices. Using Laurent & Kapferer's (1985) facets of involvement, clothing scores highly for both nationalities, while snacks score highly for the UK respondents. Even for the Spanish respondents, however, snacks score highly on the indicators of enduring involvement. The potential for symbolic positioning of snacks and clothing brands that we have shown, would be of interest to marketing managers working with these product categories. Let us now move on to consider this and other implications that our findings may have in a commercial environment.

10.9 Managerial Implications

The author's findings contain insights that could prove useful to marketing managers, with regard to decisions on brand positioning and market segmentation for the relevant product categories. Some interesting differences between the two product categories and nationalities have emerged, along with an insight into 11-12 year old girls' thinking with regard to snacks and clothing products. We will discuss each of these points, focusing on the implications they have for managers.

The values identified in this study, along with the benefits elicited, could provide a sound basis on which to build new brand positioning models for snacks and clothing brands. Of course, the results from our qualitative study would need to be quantified by managers before taking any action. Our findings suggest, however, that there is, indeed, potential for more symbolic positioning of snacks brands, as well as for clothing brands.

For example, the positioning for snacks brands – what the brand can mean or represent in the mind of the target consumer – could be based around the values of well-being and fun and enjoyment for the Spanish market. Marketing managers could exploit the fun associated with their brands more directly, further enhancing the enjoyment gained from consuming the snack. For example, marketers could build a whole experience around the brand that consumers could participate in. One way of achieving this would be to sponsor, for instance, children's pop concerts or festivals, where young people could enjoy the product while enjoying music and dancing. Spain has countless festivals in every region that may be open to this kind of sponsorship. In this way, the consumer could taste, feel and experience the product in such a manner that the association with fun and enjoyment would become even stronger. In addition, marketers could organise their own, branded events, where the product would be readily available in the context of an enjoyable, 'fun' experience; for example, beach parties, or children's discos.

The value of well-being is relevant to the UK market, while a sense of self-satisfaction is important to the English girls too. In addition, for the British

market, there appears to be significant scope for developing the theme of trust and reassurance afforded by established brand names, and to recognise the link this is perceived to have with the benefit of sharing snacks with friends and creating a sociable environment. This leads to fun and enjoyment for the English girls, as well as giving them an enhanced sense of friendship and belonging among their peer group. For clothing brands, on the other hand, brand positioning could be based around the values of friendship and belonging and self-esteem for both nationalities, perhaps with an additional dimension of individuality for the Spanish girls.

Marketers could tap into the sociability associated with their brands, and the sense of friendship and belonging this brings, by, for example, making their products freely available [in the case of snacks] in contexts where young people are going to be interacting with their friends. Sponsoring or organising concerts, discos and beach parties, as described previously, would be equally relevant here.

Another initiative might be for companies such as Walkers or Nike to offer branded birthday parties, where girls could participate in team games and activities. In the case of snacks, guests could enjoy and share the product in a highly interactive and sociable environment. For clothing products, the presence of brand advertising at these events would help forge a positive link between the brand and the experience of having fun with their friends. All of this would reinforce their association between the brand and a sense of friendship and belonging. Product placement could also be a successful initiative, if used in the context of children's television programmes where the brand is shown being shared [snacks] or worn [clothing] by groups of friends having fun together.

Of course, what we have outlined above are broad areas of values that brands in these product categories can tap into, but our findings also reveal specific consequences or benefits associated with particular brands. This information could be useful, then, to help identify and reinforce the distinct appeal of different brands. For example, Twiglets' strong taste,

"liven's you up a bit."

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

Maltesers, on the other hand, are enjoyed for their lightness:

"You suck it and it dissolves like little air balls [...]. It makes you feel light and airy."

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

The texture of Skips crisps lend themselves particularly well to creating fun and enjoyment:

"It crackles in your mouth [...]. It's a nice feeling on your tongue, and I like the little noise it makes. [...] You can eat it with your friends and you all laugh about it."

Respondent 11, UK, Snacks

Clearly, when one is thinking about how to position a brand, it is important to consider the product from the consumer's point of view. This study has provided us with information regarding the characteristics and motivations of different groups of consumers, and managers could use these insights to define different consumer typologies. Hermann and Huber (2000), for instance, used means-end chains to come up with three value-based segments for beer brands. In our study, the following key, motivating dimensions could be used to construct distinctive consumer typologies:

For Snacks Brands

- A desire to have fun, versus a desire to find a sense of well-being.
- A need for sociability and friendship with others, versus a desire for individual satisfaction.

For Clothing Brands

- The need to fit in with the peer group, versus the desire to stand out and be seen as different.

- A desire to have the security of friends, versus a desire to find a sense of individual self-worth, and independence.

These key, motivating dimensions could be of significant value to brand owners, in terms of guiding them towards new, effective ways of segmenting their markets.

Our research has revealed some interesting differences between the two product categories. For instance, the different types of involvement they generate [see section 10.8], and the different levels of internationalism of the brands in each category. There was no overlap in the list of brands used for the snacks interviews in Spain and the UK, whereas there was significant overlap in the lists of brands used for the clothing interviews [see section 9.1]. Among clothing products there are, clearly, some strong, international brands, such as Nike, Reebok and Calvin Klein. The snacks brands, however, are distinctly local in nature. Each product category, then, would require a different international marketing approach.

As we have seen, the English and Spanish respondents also displayed some differences in terms of their attitudes to the product categories, and the relative importance of values satisfied by these products. In spite of these differences, however, there was, overall, a high degree of homogeneity between the two nationalities. Our study does not reveal, for instance, the excessive sense of materialism found by Garitaonandia et al (1998) in their research with Spanish children. The author's findings concur with comments made in Brand Strategy (2003) that some common values do, indeed, exist among young people, across geographic boundaries.

Our findings fit well with those of Thomson and Woodham (1997), who assert that children in different cultures, *"do indeed share common dreams and aspirations – but [they] are not identical"* (Thomson & Woodham, 1997:226). Moreover, the predominantly positive attitude towards the image of sportswear brands such as Nike and Reebok, displayed by both Spanish and English respondents, supports the view that a coherent international youth market, aspiring to many of the same brands, does exist (Brand Strategy, 2003).

Another common thread emerging from our research is the fact that, although family influence is still important for both nationalities, the influence of peers is crucial for this age group; a finding that concurs with much academic literature (Kindermann, 1993; Lynch & Cicchetti, 1997; Moore & Lutz, 2000; Geuens et al, 2002). Peers can play an important role, then, in influencing brand preferences. If marketers can harness the power of 'word of mouth', this can prove to be a very effective marketing tool.

The insights we have gained into these 11-12 year old girls' thinking - their attitudes towards brands, and the values that different products can satisfy – are of value to marketers in that this information can enable them to understand these girls' needs better. Clearly, understanding needs is the key to marketers' ability to create relevant brand offerings. We have seen, then, how our findings can help marketers in their attempts to target their products at young consumers. But what of the marketer's need to demonstrate social responsibility? According to Evans et al (2002), a consequence of data-driven marketing is that consumers feel their privacy is invaded too much. The need for greater integration of the coverage of marketing's social responsibility in marketing curricula is acknowledged by these authors (Evans et al, 2002). Some bemused parents would clearly prefer their children to be protected from the onslaught of marketing activity directed at them (The Independent, 2003), particularly if this activity leads to excessive peer pressure to own certain brands (Keynote Research, Brand Strategy, 2003) [see section 3.2]. How, then, might the author's findings be used to inform public policy decisions aimed at ensuring the welfare of our children?

10.10 Implications for Public Policy

The author's findings reveal a huge concern among the respondents regarding their ability to fit in with and be accepted by their peer groups. Both snacks and clothing brands have been shown to contribute to issues of social inclusion and exclusion. For instance, almost all the girls interviewed felt the need to wear a certain type and style of clothing, in order to avoid being teased or discriminated against. For some of the English girls, even the snacks they brought to school could add to the possibility of being excluded from or included in friendship groups. As one girl says:

"I think I would have to have something in my lunch-box that other people have", otherwise people might laugh at you.

Respondent 7, UK, Snacks

How, then, could public policy be formed to protect these girls from the fear of exclusion generated by not having the 'right' products or brands? As we have seen, the ITC's advertising guidelines already assert that, *"No advertisement may lead children to believe that if they do not have or use the product or service advertised, they will be inferior in some way to other children, or liable to be held in contempt or ridicule."* (Preston, 2000:117). The author's findings show, however, that this guideline is not always being upheld. Even if the advertisement itself says nothing about gaining superiority by purchasing a certain product, children can sometimes make unexpected mental leaps in their response to an advertising message.

An important challenge is clearly to ensure that children do not suffer from an inferiority complex because they do not have a certain brand. A positive first step might be to ensure that parents are better informed regarding the pressures their children face every day at school. If parents can be encouraged to promote a sensible attitude towards brands and consumption to their children, this may eventually filter through to the way children behave and the attitudes they display in the playground.

Parents should be encouraged to provide a balanced environment for their families, where brands and consumerism do not dominate their children's lives. This may involve, for example, limiting the amount of commercial television a child watches. In today's society, brands are always likely to play some part in a child's world and, indeed, the author does not believe there is anything inherently wrong in a brand making children feel good about themselves. The challenge is to ensure that children are also made to feel good about themselves through other means; for example, by creating an environment where children derive pleasure and self-esteem from an involvement in hobbies and activities – for instance, dance, gym, pottery, drawing, cycling, to name but a few possibilities. Schools also have an important role to play in this respect. Through the activities they offer and the ethos they espouse, schools should ensure that children feel they can

build their self-esteem through, for example, sports participation or other achievements.

In the case of snacks brands, there is the additional problem that snacking on crisps and chocolate is likely to be contributing to the increase in childhood obesity that we are seeing in the UK. As we have seen, eating a certain snack can make children feel more integrated within their friendship group, and so children may be influenced to eat unhealthily because of this. The Chief Medical Officer for England, in his 2002 Annual Report, calls upon the food industry to, *"take a more responsible approach to the promotion [especially to children] of foods high in fat, salt and added sugars, and balance this with the promotion of healthier options, including fruit and vegetables."* (Food Standards Agency News, 2004:[i]). The author's findings show that children want to eat snacks that, [a], taste good, and [b], are popular with their friends. It is possible, then, that sustained promotion of healthier snacks by food manufacturers could, over time, lead to these healthier options becoming the 'must have' snacks – though sugar and salt are clearly the elements that have a strong taste appeal to children.

Food manufacturers could, perhaps, use the endorsement of role models popular with children, from the world of sport or entertainment, to encourage consumption of healthier food. Again, parental responsibility also plays an important role. Parents should ensure that children take as much exercise as possible, and that they, as well as their offspring, benefit from a balanced diet in the home. Salty or fatty foods do not necessarily need to be eliminated completely: for example, there is little harm in a child eating one or two packets of crisps per week, but problems are likely to arise if a child is eating two or more packets of crisps per day.

The author concurs with the Food Standards Agency that it will take a concerted effort by a number of influential bodies, to have an impact on British children's eating habits. The Food Standards Agency has drawn up a list of potential policy options related to promotional activity that could affect children's diet and health. Their proposals for action involve parents, schools, local authorities, and central Government, as well as the food industry. Their recommendations include: better labelling by food producers regarding nutritional information; reducing the

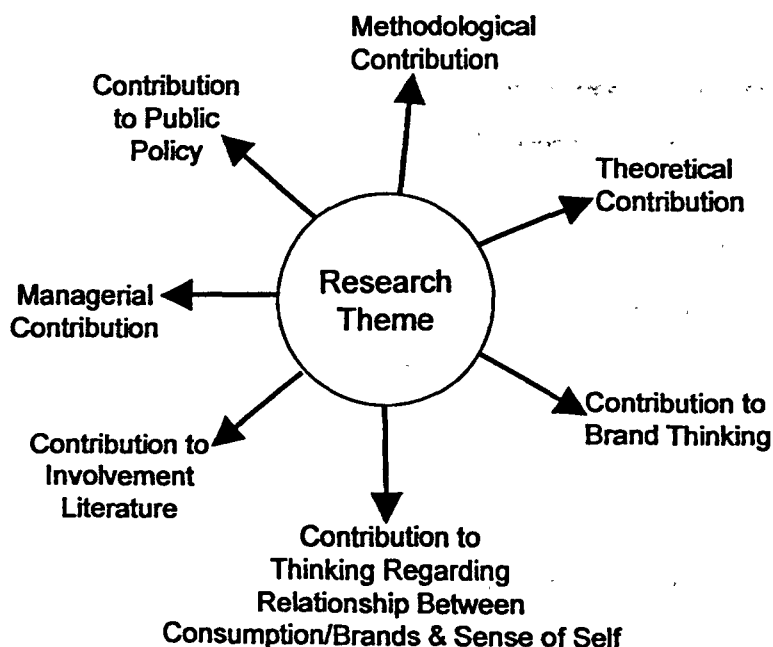
amount of fat and sugar in foods popular with children; a ban or restrictions on advertising of certain foods on television; encouraging the industry to advertise healthier foods; encouraging restaurants to offer a range of healthier options; and healthier options in school vending machines (Food Standards Agency News, 2004). In addition, the Government plans to roll out a scheme providing children with free fruit at school every day, across England (Food Standards Agency News, 2004).

The author believes that such direct measures as banning children from bringing crisps and chocolate to school in the UK, and removing snacks vending machines from school premises, could go some way towards addressing the issue of poor diet. In addition, as discussed, informing and educating parents regarding the pressures children feel they are under to either fit in, or face social exclusion, might help parents promote a responsible attitude to brands and consumption to their children.

Let us now pull together the different strands of a contribution to knowledge that the author's study has, we hope, made.

11. SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Figure 32: Research Theme and Resulting Areas of Contribution



The author's contribution to knowledge falls into seven areas:

1. A methodological contribution, based on the author's use of the means-end chain approach with 11-12 year old English and Spanish girls.
2. A theoretical contribution, resulting from an understanding of the personal values satisfied by snacks and clothing brands, for these English and Spanish girls. New insights on values are presented in terms of their contribution to means-end chain theory and the values literature.
3. A contribution to brand thinking, resulting from new insights into the role and importance of snacks and clothing brands for these English and Spanish girls.

4. A contribution to the theoretical discussion regarding the relationship between consumption/brands and one's sense of self.
5. A contribution to the literature regarding involvement levels, with specific reference to snacks and clothing brands.
6. A managerial contribution, providing information that could assist managers in the successful marketing of brands to young consumers.
7. A small contribution to public policy regarding ways of improving British children's diets, and relieving some of the pressure children experience from their peers to own certain brands.

Let us now examine each of these areas in turn:

1. Methodological Contribution

- (i) *Can the means-end chain model be applied successfully to 11-12 year old British and Spanish girls, demonstrating that a clear association exists between these young consumers' personal values and the brand choices they make?*

The author's research does seem to have uncovered the cognitive path between product choice and meaning for the young respondents interviewed. 214 out of 419 ladders generated reach the level of values [51%], allowing us to assert that the means-end chain model is relevant and applicable to these 11-12 year old English and Spanish girls. The success of the laddering technique demonstrates that there is a clear association between these young respondents' personal values, and the snacks and clothing brands they consume and wear.

Although snacks have been described as a low-involvement product category [see section 4.1], their consumption can still be related to higher order values.

Clothing is strongly associated with values-related motivations [particularly for the English respondents], in keeping with the theory that clothing contributes very clearly to a sense of self and identity.

Given that the overwhelming majority of values generated were terminal values, the author agrees with Olson & Reynolds' (2001) view that the 4-step model [Attributes → Functional consequences → Psycho-social consequences → Values or goals] is adequate to express the means-end chains generated. The author feels, however, that it is helpful to insert 2-way arrows between functional and psycho-social consequences, as her research shows frequent movement from one back to the other, as ladders are generated:

*Attributes → functional consequences ↔ psychosocial
consequences → values or goals*

[Adapted from Olson & Reynolds, 2001]

(ii) *What contribution does this study make to means-end theory from a cross-cultural perspective?*

The means-end approach and laddering technique worked in exactly the same way with both nationalities.

Although the author's sample was not large enough to talk about the results being representative of 'Spanish culture' or 'British culture', the study clearly reveals shared knowledge and behaviour regarding the consumption of snacks and clothing brands. For instance, slightly different lists of attributes were generated by the English and Spanish girls, indicating some degree of cultural divergence. The author has found some differences between the two cultural groups, just as other researchers in the field of cross-cultural means-end research have done

(Kara, Laskey & Seaton, 1993; Valette-Florence & Rapacchi, 1991; Baker & Knox, 1994; Brunso & Grunert, 1998; Valette-Florence et al, 1999).

However, there were more similarities than differences between the two geographic samples' lists of both attributes and consequences, suggesting quite a strong homogeneity among girls of this age from these two advanced Western European nations. The values elicited in the Spanish and UK interviews are strikingly similar. For example: well-being, friendship and belonging, fun and enjoyment, happiness, freedom and independence, self-esteem, sense of identity and self, and achievement. This finding reinforces Kennedy's assertion that there are, *"a few core values that are relevant to a child's life such as fun and enjoyment, sense of belonging, and sense of accomplishment"* (Kennedy, 1995).

(iii) *Can we really make a direct link between personal values and actual brand choices?*

From the author's data, it is impossible to state categorically that it is the personal values that brands satisfy, that are the key motivators of purchase. The author concurs with Grunert & Grunert (1995) in saying that we cannot use this means-end study directly to predict behaviour. We cannot refute the claim that a number of intervening variables may be influential in driving consumer choices; for instance, attitudes (Munson, 1984; Shrum & McCarty, 1997; Allen, 2000), individual differences and demographics (Shrum & McCarty, 1997); community context (Prensky & Wright-Isak, 1997); and lifestyle (Scholderer et al, 2002). In addition, our findings concur with Allen's (2000) view that values influence the importance of product attributes, as we have highlighted examples where values link directly to a preference for certain product attributes.

The author hopes that the predictive validity of her results has been somewhat improved by the discussion of different social contexts during the course of the laddering interviews (Manyiwa & Crawford, 2002). We have gained an understanding of how product preferences change in accordance with particular social contexts.

Although we cannot use the author's study directly to predict behaviour, it does, nonetheless, allow us to see clearly the connections of given brands with specific means-end associations. It would, surely, be logical to assume that the benefits that we have uncovered, and the values that the brands have been found to satisfy are, at least in part, the drivers that motivate purchase.

(iv) ***What adaptations to the laddering technique were required, to make it suitable for use with 11-12 year old respondents?***

The following adaptations were made, and are suggested, to ensure that the technique works successfully with 11-12 year old respondents:

- (a) Replace the suggested probe, *"Why is that important to you?"* (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988), with a more specific, concrete form of questioning; for example, *"What is it that you like about that?"* or, *"What's good about that?"*.
- (b) Use the following techniques, adapted from Reynolds & Gutman (1988) to overcome 'blocks' during the course of the interview:
 - ~ Negative laddering: *"What would be bad about not having that?"* or; *"What would you wear/eat if you couldn't get something like that?"*
 - ~ Give the question a concrete, situational context, for example: *"When/where do you normally eat/wear something like this? What did you like about it?"* or, *"Think of the last time you wore/ate something like this? What did you like about it?"*.
 - ~ Move respondents backwards in time, to help them think through their motivations for choice. For example, *"Have you changed the kind of snacks/clothes you eat/wear compared to a few years ago? Why is that? Why do you eat/wear X now? What do you like about X now? ['Why?' questions did not seem to cause a problem when presented as supplementary to a more concrete question]."*

~ Ask respondents to think about a third person (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). For instance, *"Why do you think your friends eat/wear things like this? What do you think your friends like about things like this?"*.

~ Take visual stimulus material and samples of the brands under discussion wherever possible, to add variety and interest to the interviews, and keep boredom at bay.

~ Appeal to the respondents' emotions to encourage them to expand on points. For example, *"How does that make you feel?"*. This was an effective way of eliciting a greater variety and richness of language, and minimising the difficulty of interviewing respondents with a more limited vocabulary than adults.

- (c) Build in a pre-stage to the triadic sorting, to make it easier for the respondents to complete this task. For example, ask, first of all, *"What do you know about brand X, Y and Z?"*, and only then to ask, *"Which one do you think is the 'odd one out'?"*. This helps the respondents to think through the different dimensions of each brand, which then makes it easier for them to select an 'odd one out'. If respondents still find the exercise difficult, a further solution is to prompt them on the type of dimensions to think about in relation to each brand; for example, the look, feel, style, image, taste, shape, advertising and packaging.
- (d) Ensure the tone and setting of the interview are as informal as possible, as many respondents of this age are shy and embarrassed about speaking in an interview situation. The interviewer should give as much positive encouragement as possible, while still being aware of the need to retain objectivity.

2. Theoretical Contribution

- (v) *Which personal values are being satisfied by snacks and clothing brands, for the British and Spanish respondents?*

UK, Snacks Interviews

The most dominant perceptual orientation emerging from the UK, snacks interviews is:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Nature of chocolate bar [e.g. ingredients] [A] → Pleasant physical sensation

[C] → Well-being [V]

The girls' preferred snacks are important to them because of the physical consequences they generate, which then lead them to experience the positive mental states of well-being and self-satisfaction.

The other values satisfied by snacks brands are: fun and enjoyment, happiness, concern for others, and friendship and belonging. The fact that the snacks the girls eat allow them to be sociable and interact with their peer group is key in fulfilling each of these values.

Although the strongest reason for choosing a snack is the physical pleasure that it brings, and the sense of well-being that this induces, other more complex reasons relating to the girls' place within their peer group also play a part. Having a certain snack in one's lunch-box can enhance friendships by providing talking points, and can increase one's popularity by being shared. This helps the girls feel more integrated within their peer group, and satisfies the intense need for belonging that they experience.

Bower & Sandall's (2002) research into snacking behaviour with seven and eight year olds revealed that having snacks that are the 'same as friends' was one of the least relevant decision factors. The author suggests, then, that the importance of the social acceptability of snacks is something that develops when children are a little older.

Spain, Snacks Interviews

There was a much narrower spread of responses in the Spanish interviews, and fewer values identified.

The most dominant perceptual orientation is almost identical to the UK one, and is as follows:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Nature of non-crisp snack [e.g. combination of ingredients] [A] → Pleasant sensation/taste [C] → Well-being [V]

The other dominant value to emerge is fun and enjoyment. Sociability often plays an important role in ladders ending in fun and enjoyment.

Sharing snacks appears to be motivated by self-interest, by the thought of what one may get in return, rather than the pleasure of feeling one 'belongs' and is part of a group, which seems to be the key motivation for many English respondents.

Well-being and fun and enjoyment, then, are the key values satisfied by snacks products. They are a source of individual pleasure, as well as serving physical and utilitarian needs. They are also, however, appreciated for the element of sociability they can engender. This appreciation does not appear to be driven by a need for friendship and belonging, as was the case for many English respondents, but instead, for the sheer enjoyment and sense of well-being that sociability can bring.

UK, Clothing Interviews

Friendship and belonging and self-esteem are the two most important values satisfied by the UK respondents' clothing. Three key attributes are at the root of these orientations: fashionable, designer labels and sportswear; attributes

reflecting how clothes look and their image, as well as, in the case of designer labels, a certain quality level. The most dominant perceptual orientation is:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Fashionable [A] → Stand out [C] → 'Stand in'/Fit in [C] → Friendship and belonging

A number of other values are also satisfied by different clothing choices: happiness, being satisfied or at ease with oneself, sense of identity and self, freedom/independence and security. Friendship and belonging and self-esteem, however, remain the most important values satisfied.

The desire to stand out and feel like a unique individual, sits alongside the desire to fit in and blend in with the crowd at all times. Standing out is only ever desirable within the context of acceptable limits that allow the girls, at the same time, to secure a safe and strong position within their chosen friendship group. The twin desires to fit in and yet stand out echo findings in Hogg and Banister's (2001) research into consumer experience.

Spain, Clothing Interviews

The two most dominant values identified are identical to those identified in the UK interviews: friendship and belonging and self-esteem. Unlike the UK research, only one other value is elicited with two or more relations between elements: sense of identity, self and individuality. The respondents frequently talk of the importance of expressing one's own taste, albeit within the bounds of what is considered normal, in order to achieve this sense of identity and self.

There are just two attributes at the root of the most dominant perceptual orientations: fashionable, and smart/elegant/special. As with the UK research, then, these are attributes that reflect how clothes look, and the image associated

with them. Sportswear is also mentioned, and this, too, has strong image associations.

The most dominant perceptual orientation is strikingly similar to the most dominant orientation that emerges from the UK interviews:

A = Attribute; C = Consequence; V = Value

Fashionable [A] → Fit in [C] → Avoid being criticised or teased [C] →

Friendship and belonging [V]

Clothing choices have a clear and definite impact on these girls' self-esteem, and on their search for a sense of identity and self. The need to 'be oneself' and express oneself through one's clothes, echoes Lee Taylor and Cosenza's (2002) findings. Just as in the UK research, the girls' attempts to express themselves as unique individuals are always restricted by their own and their peer group's definition of what is 'normal'. Anyone who strays beyond the boundaries of normality is likely to be criticised, laughed at, and excluded from the group. Interestingly, the Spanish respondents express their desire for friendship and belonging in terms of wanting to avoid a negative outcome, more often than their English counterparts do. In other words, they speak in terms of their desire *not to be excluded* from a friendship group, rather than in terms of desiring inclusion. Clearly, though, it is deeply important to respondents of both nationalities to have a secure and integrated position within their peer group; an aspiration that can be at least partially achieved by the clothing they choose to wear.

The table below shows that, in spite of the differences that have been highlighted, there is a high degree of homogeneity between the 11-12 year old English and Spanish girls, in terms of the ladders and values elicited:

Table 17: Most Dominant Perceptual Orientation For Each Country and Product Category

	SNACKS
UK	Nature of chocolate bar [e.g. ingredients] [A] → Pleasant physical sensation [C] → Well-being [V]
SPAIN	Nature of non-crisp snack [e.g. ingredients] [A] → Pleasant sensation/taste [C] → Well-being [V]
	CLOTHING
UK	Fashionable [A] → Stand out [C] → ‘Stand in’/Fit in [C] → Friendship and belonging [V]
SPAIN	Fashionable [A] → Fit in [C] → Avoid being criticised or teased [C] → Friendship and belonging [V]

(vi) *What new insights on values have we gained that can make a contribution to means-end theory and the values literature?*

The following table shows the values that appear in the most dominant perceptual orientations:

Table 18: Values Appearing in Most Dominant Perceptual Orientations

UK	SPAIN
Well-being	Well-being
Self-esteem	Self-esteem
Friendship and belonging	Friendship and belonging
Self-satisfaction	Fun and enjoyment

The types of values that have emerged from the author’s research could all be described as either inwardly-directed or socially-based. That is, the values that

the respondents are seeking to satisfy through their brand choices relate to their inner, individual needs, or to how they, as individuals, find satisfaction from relating to others. The values expressed do not have an external orientation, as does, for instance, Rokeach's 'world of beauty' (Rokeach, 1969), nor do they reflect any kind of social conscience, as does 'a world at peace', 'equality', and 'national security' (ibid.).

It would seem reasonable to suggest, then, that the more narrowly focused values elicited in the author's research, are a function of the young age of the respondents. The values expressed would seem to reflect 11-12 year olds' greater need to focus on self, as they are in the process of defining themselves as individuals. The values expressed contribute to a positive sense of self, and a positive sense of the child's place within her peer group.

The values elicited fit well with Riesman (1950) and Mitchell's (1983) inner-directed and outer or other-directed values.

The author's respondents display traits of both 'I-am-me's' and 'Belongers' (Mitchell, 1983). This sense of belonging, along with self-esteem (Maslow, 1954), is critically important to them.

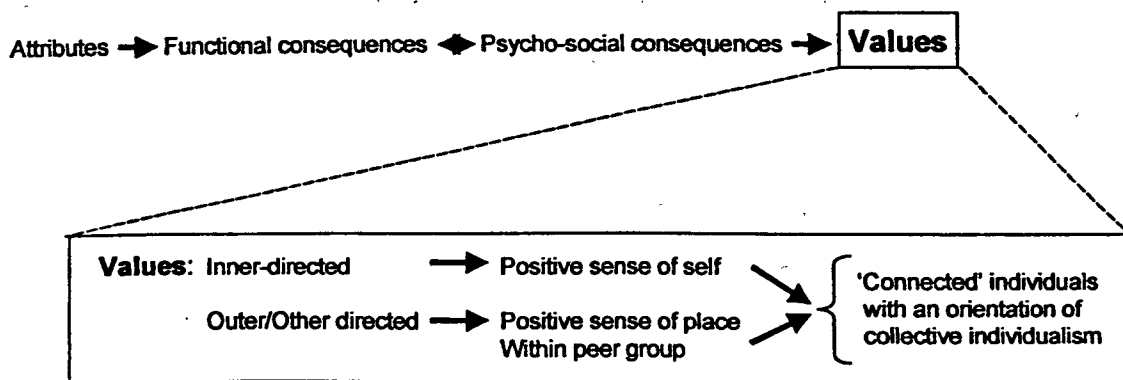
These respondents are highly susceptible to interpersonal influence (Kropp et al, 1999), and have a strong need to feel 'connected' with their peer groups (Christensen, 2002). Their overall orientation, then, is highly collectivist, but their individualist aspirations are voiced on many occasions: they all want to define a unique identity for themselves. Their apparently contradictory values sit quite comfortably alongside each other. Bringing together these opposing strands, we could define these respondents as wishing to be 'connected' individuals, and as displaying an orientation of 'collective individualism'.

Using the slightly adjusted means-end chain model presented in section 10.3.1
[Attributes → Functional consequences ↔ Psycho-social consequences →

Values or Goals: adapted from Olson & Reynolds, 2001], we can now add the above information, and make this model more specific for our 11-12 year old Spanish and English respondents:

Figure 33: 11-12 Year Old Respondents' Means-End Chains

Attributes → Functional consequences ↔ Psycho-social consequences → Values



3. Contribution to Brand Thinking

- (vii) *What contribution to brand thinking can we make with our findings?*
What role do brands play for these young girls?

It is clear from the author's research that, as the literature suggests, 11-12 year olds have gained an understanding of the symbolic meaning of brands (Bachmann Achenreiner & Roedder John, 2003).

Snacks Brands, UK

A trusted brand name generates a feeling of reassurance, which leads to a sense of well-being.

Particular brands can enhance peer group interaction, creating a sociable environment and leading to either fun and enjoyment, or to a deepened sense of belonging among the peer group.

There is a concern that one may be laughed at or excluded from the peer group if one fails to bring a well-known snack brand to school.

Snacks Brands, Spain

Brand name is not considered very important where snacks are concerned. There is some evidence, however, that a well-known brand name generates trust and reassurance.

Enjoying a certain snack brand does not create the sociability, fun, and sense of integration within the peer group that it does for some of the English respondents; but neither does the lack of a certain brand create a feeling of concern among the Spanish girls.

Clothing Brands, UK

Particular generic clothing types or styles emerge as much more important for the English girls than specific brands. This finding concurs with Lee Taylor & Cosenza's (2002) study investigating clothing choice among 16-20 year old girls.

Most girls think of retail brands as their favourite brands.

Sportswear brands such as Nike and Reebok do, however, emerge quite strongly as desirable products. These are brands that can enhance respondents' self-esteem, and can increase popularity among one's peer group.

The desire to stand out and, at the same time, fit in, can be achieved by having a certain style and look, without the brand name necessarily being important.

There is a fairly strong interest in designer labels. Many respondents aspire to own them, and wearing them would clearly contribute to the girls' self-esteem.

Clothing Brands, Spain

As in the UK interviews, generic clothing types are mentioned far more frequently than brand names.

Spanish respondents think of retail brands first when discussing brands, just as the English respondents do.

‘Well-known brand’ does emerge as a fairly important attribute. As in the UK interviews, sportswear brands such as Nike and Reebok are the most frequently mentioned brands, and are considered ‘good brands’. They are often liked because lots of people wear them, and it is considered positive to own brands that other people have.

Sportswear brands such as Nike allow respondents to fit in with their peer group, as well as providing a way for them to stand out, look special, and gain popularity.

There is some evidence of disdain for people who wear lots of expensive brands.

There is little interest in designer labels, because they are simply not considered relevant. Unlike many of the English girls, most of these respondents do not want to look older than they actually are.

As in the UK interviews, a sense of belonging within one’s friendship group, along with self-esteem, can be generated by creating a certain look and style. While this look and style must be compatible with that of one’s peers, it is not necessarily dependent on having any particular brand name.

4. Contribution to Thinking Regarding the Relationship Between Consumption/Brands and One’s Sense of Self

- (viii) *Do the respondents use the brands or products they wear and consume to help define their sense of self?*

The author's research demonstrates that the respondents use the brands or products they wear and consume to help define their self-concept (Grubb et al, 1967; Hogg & Banister, 2001). Situational (Schenk & Holman, 1980), actual and ideal self-images (Dolich, 1969; Quester et al, 2000) are all relevant to the author's study.

Clothing, in particular, is seen as a symbolic expression of who we are (Furby, 1991).

Both snacks and clothing products can be used to assert individuality, as well as, in the case of snacks, to share a certain group identity.

While the brand name is not always relevant when it comes to creating an identity and sense of self, there is evidence that, for many respondents, particular brands of clothing send out strong signals regarding a person's character and image.

5. Contribution to the Involvement Literature

- (ix) Do our findings reveal high levels of involvement in both snacks and clothing products?**
- (x) Do snacks brands offer the potential for symbolic positioning, just as clothing brands do?**
- (xi) What differences emerge between the Spanish and English respondents, in terms of involvement levels?**

High levels of involvement can be demonstrated for both sets of respondents, in both product categories, using Claeys & Vanden Abeele's (2001) indices [the number of means-end chains elicited, the highest level of abstraction reached, the number of values mentioned, their centrality or importance to the consumer, and their nature – instrumental versus terminal].

Using Laurent & Kapferer's (1985) facets of involvement, clothing scores highly for both nationalities, while snacks score highly for the UK respondents. Even for the Spanish respondents, however, snacks score highly on the indicators of enduring involvement [perceived importance and hedonic value].

Table 19: Respondents' Involvement in the Chosen Product Categories

	SNACKS UK	SNACKS SPAIN	CLOTHING UK	CLOTHING SPAIN
Perceived importance	High	High	High	High
Perceived risk:				
~ Importance of negative consequences	Medium	Low	High	High
~ Probability of mistake	Medium	Low	High	High
Symbolic value	Medium	Low	High	High
Hedonic value, emotional value	High	High	High	High

Snacks brands as well as clothing brands have a high potential for symbolic positioning, a fact which would be of interest to marketing managers working with these product categories.

6. Managerial Contribution

- (xii) What do the benefits and values identified in this study tell us about the type of brand positioning models that would be relevant for snacks and clothing brands, in Spain and the UK?**
- (xiii) What key, motivating dimensions do our findings reveal, that could be relevant in developing consumer typologies, and effective segmentation plans?**
- (xiv) Is there a coherent international youth market where needs and wants are the same? Do our findings reveal any particular marketing approach that might be successful with this age group?**

The values identified in this study, along with the benefits elicited, could provide a sound basis on which to build new brand positioning models for snacks and clothing brands. The positioning for snacks brands could be based around the values of well-being and fun and enjoyment for the Spanish market. The value of well-being would also be relevant to the UK market, while a sense of self-satisfaction is important to the English girls too. In addition, for the British market, the theme of trust and reassurance afforded by established brand names could be developed, along with recognising the link this is perceived to have with the benefit of sharing snacks with friends and creating a sociable environment. This leads to fun and enjoyment for the English girls, as well as giving them an enhanced sense of friendship and belonging to their peer group.

For clothing brands, on the other hand, brand positioning could be based around the values of friendship and belonging and self-esteem for both nationalities, perhaps with an additional dimension of individuality for the Spanish girls.

The following key, motivating dimensions could be used to construct distinctive consumer typologies:

For Snacks Brands

- A desire to have fun, versus a desire to find a sense of well-being.
- A need for sociability and friendship with others, versus a desire for individual satisfaction.

For Clothing Brands

- The need to fit in with the peer group, versus the desire to stand out and be seen as different.
- A desire to have the security of friends, versus a desire to find a sense of individual self-worth, and independence.

These dimensions could be used to guide brand owners towards new, effective ways of segmenting their markets.

Among clothing products there are, clearly, some strong, international brands, such as Nike, Reebok and Calvin Klein. The snacks brands, however, are distinctly local in nature. Each product category, then, would require a different international marketing approach.

The predominantly positive attitude towards the image of sportswear brands such as Nike and Reebok, displayed by both Spanish and English respondents, supports the view that a coherent international youth market, aspiring to many of the same brands, does exist (Brand Strategy, 2003).

Although family influence is still important for both nationalities, the influence of peers is crucial for this age group; a finding that concurs with much academic literature (Kindermann, 1993; Lynch & Cicchetti, 1997; Moore & Lutz, 2000; Geuens et al, 2002). Brand owners need to be aware, then, that positive 'word of mouth' from peers can be a very effective marketing tool, if harnessed successfully.

The insights we have gained into these 11-12 year old girls' thinking - their attitudes towards brands, and the values that different products can satisfy – will allow marketers to understand these girls' needs better. Clearly, understanding needs is the key to marketers' ability to create relevant brand offerings.

7. Contribution to Public Policy

(xv) *What contribution can the author's study make to public policy regarding ways of improving British children's diets, and ways of relieving the pressure children feel from their peers to own certain brands?*

(xvi) *What can the author's findings contribute to the debate on how to tackle the problem of increasing childhood obesity?*

The author's findings show that both snacks and clothing brands can contribute to issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

Respondents feel a tremendous pressure to fit in with their peer group, and feel the need to wear a certain type and style of clothing in order to achieve this.

Some of the English girls also feel the need to have a familiar snack brand in their lunch-box, as this gives them a stronger sense of integration within their friendship group. Children may be influenced to eat unhealthily because of this.

Sustained promotion of healthier snacks may increase their appeal among children if, [a] they taste good, and [b] they feel that these snacks are popular with their friends.

A concerted effort by a number of groups – parents, schools, local authorities, central Government, and the food industry – will be necessary, if British children's eating habits are to be changed.

Banning children from bringing crisps and chocolate to school in the UK, and removing snacks vending machines from school premises, could help address the issue of poor diet.

Informing and educating parents regarding the pressures their children feel they face from their friends to fit in, could help parents promote a responsible attitude to brands and consumption, to their children.

The author hopes that she has demonstrated that her study makes a small but valuable contribution to knowledge, through the points made above. Like any piece of research, however, this study does have limitations which it is important to highlight. These limitations will now be discussed in section 12.

12. LIMITATIONS AND OTHER ISSUES

In this section, we will assess the limitations of the author's study, and highlight any areas of weakness that exist.

Let us start by considering the theoretical premise for this research: means-end chain theory. We have already seen that some researchers have questioned the assumptions on which means-end chain theory is based [see section 3.1.3], and that some believe laddering is a limited technique [see section 3.1.3]. Criticisms are that laddering assumes a false mental ordering on the part of the respondent (Bagozzi & Dabholkar, 2000), and that abstract levels that are uncovered may be artificial (Botschen et al, 1999). The author believes, however, that most of the respondents found it quite natural to progress from discussing product attributes, to discussing the abstract associations linked to them. The ease with which most of the links were made, leads the author to believe that this was an intuitive process for the respondents, and one where at least part of the respondents' cognitive structure was being uncovered. The author would not claim that the means-end chains elicited represent a complete model of consumers' cognitive structures, but she does feel that they reveal a fascinating extract of each person's cognitive structure.

It could also be argued that the lack of clear evidence showing a direct link between personal values and actual behaviour, is a limitation of this research. As we have seen, however, our study does clearly show the connections of given brands with specific means-end associations. The author believes it is logical to assume that the values the brands have been found to satisfy are, to some extent, the motivators for purchase.

A limitation of this research that the author feels she must acknowledge is that, while this study makes a small contribution to cross-cultural values research, the scope is clearly very narrow. Samples from more than two countries would need to be included to facilitate a greater breadth of cross-cultural comparison.

As this study follows a subjective-interpretive approach, the author is necessarily involved in interpreting the interviewees' responses. Those who prefer a more objective, positivist school of thought, could argue that the researcher's engagement in the process is a limitation. Throughout the process, however, the author has tried to draw conclusions based purely on interrogating the data, in an attempt to ensure that it is the respondents' interpretation of reality that is presented, and not the researcher's.

One could also argue that the limited external validity of any piece of qualitative research restricts its usefulness. The relatively small sample size – 22 interviews in Spain and 24 interviews in the UK – means that we cannot broaden our conclusions and claim that they are relevant to all Spanish girls or to all English girls. However, as discussed in section 7.1, the study's strong internal validity, assured by the rigorous process that was followed, makes it quite possible for other researchers to replicate the study. It could be argued that qualitative data from different countries will always be more difficult to compare than factual data, but the added richness of insight that can be generated in qualitative research makes these studies all the more worthwhile.

The matching of our two country samples was, perhaps, not as exact as it might have been. While the English girls were recruited from affluent London suburbs [Kingston, Richmond], the Spanish girls were recruited from a medium-sized Spanish city [Valencia]. However, in terms of the range of stores and commercial facilities available in these areas, and the general level of affluence, the samples are fairly well matched: all of these locations have thriving commercial centres. Another potentially limiting factor is that, as discussed earlier, half of the English respondents were attending an all-girls school. All of the other respondents attended mixed schools. Exposure to and experience of the opposite sex may, therefore, have been slightly different. However, all respondents had, until recently, attended mixed primary schools, so any bearing this factor might have had on the research results would have been minimal.

The fact that the author decided to focus on one gender could also be viewed as a limitation. The author felt that analysing results from boys as well as girls would have created an unmanageable number of variables for a PhD thesis. It would clearly be of interest, however, to replicate this study with 11-12 year old boys.

Another limitation in the scope of the research is the fact that only 11-12 year olds were interviewed. It would be fascinating to replicate the research with both younger and older children, to see how the values satisfied by particular product attributes change with age.

Finally, the author feels that her nationality and lack of experience may have been a limitation when carrying out the Spanish interviews. Although the author is fluent in Spanish, she is clearly not a native Spanish speaker. As discussed earlier [see section 10.4], this may have led to the Spanish respondents being more reticent than they would have been with someone from their own country. The author feels that this may have been particularly the case when the interviews reached a very intense level of probing, and when the respondents were being prompted to reveal deep-rooted values. The author believes that some of the respondents were a little more guarded and less willing to open up because she was not Spanish, and feels that, at times, she lacked the skill and experience to overcome this obstacle.

Overall, then, we have highlighted a number of limitations regarding the nature, scope and execution of this piece of research. Some of these limitations lead us naturally to recommend further, related research, and this is the subject to which we will now turn.

13. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The author recommends replicating this research with a sample of 11-12 year old boys. This would allow some interesting gender comparisons to be carried out in terms of, for example, understanding the values satisfied by the different product categories, the role and importance of different brands, and the relationship between consumption and one's sense of self. It would be fascinating to discover whether our findings are largely gender specific, or whether means-end chains generated for boys and girls of this age have a high degree of homogeneity.

It would also be interesting to carry out the same research with children in different age bands. A study with younger children would enable us to see at what age meaningful ladders can be generated following in-depth interviews, while studies with older children would allow us to see how the values satisfied by product attributes change with age, and how children's needs and desires develop with age. For instance, do particular brands become increasingly important to children as they get older? Does the peer group remain as strong an influence in terms of product preferences and brand choices? Does it become even stronger or does it, on the contrary, diminish as children become older and increase in confidence? Do products or brands become more or less important in defining one's sense of self as children mature? Research with a broader range of age groups would also enrich comparisons with values research among adults.

A replication of this study with different nationalities would clearly enrich cross-cultural comparisons of values research using means-end chain theory. It would be fascinating to see what degree of homogeneity or difference exists between 11-12 year olds [and other age groups] from different geographic cultures. Are the values satisfied by different products largely the same across borders, or do important differences emerge? What differences and similarities would we find in terms of the role consumption and brands play, and in terms of the relationship between consumption and one's sense of self?

It would also be interesting to carry out the same research study using different product categories. By doing this, we could determine whether or not different sets of values are generated following the laddering interviews. We could also assess whether different product categories are more or less involving, and whether they play a more or less important role for young consumers.

All of the above research would reveal fresh insights on personal values that could then be fed back into means-end chain theory and the values literature, enriching this fascinating field of research.

It could also be useful to quantify the research findings from the author's study, to see how generally applicable they are across a broader audience. A quantitative study would be particularly useful for brand owners wishing to make marketing decisions on the basis of the author's research results.

A final area where the author recommends focusing further research, is in exploring the strength and directness of the link between values and consumption behaviour. It would be a useful contribution to knowledge to determine whether or not we can talk of personal values as direct motivators of brand or product purchase.

Overall, then, the author feels that her study, while providing some fascinating results, has generated a whole host of interesting questions. These questions could be answered by investing in the related research described above. The author hopes that her work has made a small but useful contribution to academic knowledge, and believes that a far greater contribution could be made if these additional research ideas could be pursued.

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APPENDIX 1

PUBLICATIONS

APPENDIX 1

PUBLICATIONS

Conference Papers

“Children, Technology and Culture”, University of Brunel, 1st–3rd
July 1998

“International Brand Marketing to Children: The Importance of the Role of Values” (with S.Baker), *Academy of Marketing Conference*, Sheffield Hallam University, 8-10th July 1998

"Uncovering the Links Between Brand Choice and Personal Values Among Young Consumers in Spain and the UK", (with S. Baker), *British Academy of Management Conference*, University of Edinburgh Management School, 13-15th September 2000.

Journal Articles

“Marketing to Children: The Key Issues” (with S.Baker), *Management Focus*, Cranfield School of Management, Issue 11, pp 22-23, Winter 1998

"Tweens' Values and Brand Choices", *Kids' Marketing Report*, vol.1, no.7, pp 6-8, April 1999

"Uncovering the Links Between Brand Choice and Personal Values Among Young British and Spanish Girls", (with S. Baker), *Journal of Consumer Behaviour: An International Research Review*, Henry Stewart Publications, Issue 1, pp 77-93, June 2001

APPENDIX 2

BRAND SETS USED IN INTERVIEWS [PILOT]

APPENDIX 1

Brand Sets Used in Interviews

Brand sets used were based on research into the most popular brands among 11-14 year olds (Key Note, 1999). Relevance was checked at interviews and any other favourites added to the list.

UK & Spain, Snacks

Quakers
Wotsits
Walkers
Monster Munch
Skins
Hula Hoops
Doritos
Pringles
Twiglets
KP Nuts
Kit Kat
Mars
Snickers
Twix
Galaxy
Twirl (added at interviews)

UK, Clothing

Nike
Adidas
Gap
Calvin Klein
Reebok
Levis
Naff Naff
Caterpillar
Benetton
Diesel
Wrangler
Giorgio Armani
Pepe
Lee
Joe Bloggs
Tammy Girl/Etam
New Look
C & A

Spain, Clothing

The above brands were used, plus the following:

Amichi

Mango

Don Algodón

Zara

Timberland

APPENDIX 3

DISCUSSION GUIDE – ENGLISH AND SPANISH

Kids' Research: Personal Values and Brand Choice

Discussion Guide

Each 1hr. depth interview will cover *either* snacks or fashion clothing.

Warm up (5 minutes)

Explain purpose of interview: I want to talk to you about snacks/clothes brands. I want to find out what you like/don't like about them, and why you buy them. There are no right or wrong answers, I'm just interested in your views.

Do you like eating snacks?/Do you like going shopping for clothes?

Do you buy many snacks? Which snacks do you eat? Which are your favourites?/Do you buy many clothes? Which makes of clothes do you wear? Which shops/labels do you like best?

Do you tend to buy snacks/clothes on your own, or with your mum or dad, with a brother or sister, or friend, or someone else?

How much money do you have to spend on snacks/clothing per week/month?

Triadic Sorting (15-20 minutes)

I'm going to give you a set of 3 cards at a time, and each card has a brand name on it. I'd like you to look at each of the brand names, and try and pick one that is the 'odd one out' or different in some way from the other two.

For example, if I give you the names: *Milky Way*, *Cadbury's chocolate buttons*, and *Lion Bar*, you might tell me that *Cadbury's chocolate buttons* is the 'odd one out' because it's lots of chocolates, while the other two are bars. Or, you might tell me that it's the odd one out because it's light to eat, while the other two are quite filling. Or, you might tell me that *Lion Bar* is the odd one out, because the other two are babyish brands, while *Lion Bar* is for older kids.

For example, if I give you the names: *Kookai*, *Next*, and *Marks & Spencer*, you might tell me that *Marks & Spencer* is the 'odd one out' because it's boring, while the other two are trendy. Or you might tell me it's the 'odd one out' because it sells food, while the other two just sell clothes. Or you might tell me that *Kookai* is the 'odd one out' because it's for young people, while the other two are for older people.

In case of difficulty, build in pre-stage to triadic sorting. Start by asking:

What do you know about brand x, and brand y, and brand z? Now which one do you think is the 'odd one out' and why? Prompt respondents on kind of things to think about, e.g.: look, feel, style, image, taste, shape, advertising, pack etc.

Get as many different poles (attributes/constructs) as possible from one set of cards, then move on to the next set of three. Give as many different combinations of sets of three as possible. Write down all constructs.

Laddering (35-40 minutes)

Which of these comparisons/pairs of things (constructs) that you've mentioned are most important to you when you're buying a snack/item of clothing? Are there any other things that are important, that we haven't mentioned?

Use the constructs chosen by the respondent. Take each construct one at a time.

Which of these pairs of things (i.e. which pole of the construct) do you prefer? Which do you think is better? *Then focus on that element (e.g. for young people, trendy, filling...)*

What is it that you like about that? What's good about that? Why is that important to you? *Keep probing and asking these questions until the respondent can provide no more information.*

In case of blocks/respondents' inability to answer: What would be bad about not having that? How would you feel? What would you wear/eat if you couldn't get something like this? Why is this better?

When/where do you normally eat/wear something like this (e.g. trendy, filling)? What did you like about it?

Think of the last time you wore/ate something like this (e.g. trendy, filling...). What did you like about it?

Have you changed the kind of snacks/clothes you eat/wear compared to a few years ago? Why is that? Why do you eat/wear X now? What do you like about X now?

What kind of things do your friends eat/wear? Why do you think your friends eat/wear things like this? What do you think your friends like about things like this? What do you think about that?

Imagine you're in the park... going to the cinema... on your way home from school... what might you be wearing/eating? Why is that? What's good about that? Imagine you're wearing/eating x... how would you feel about that?

Go through each of the constructs (highlighted by the respondent as important) in turn, following the format outlined above. Once the respondent can provide no more information, close down the interview.

Thank you very much for your time...

Kids' Research: Personal Values and Brand Choice

Discussion Guide

Cada entrevista en profundidad, de 1 hora de duración, cubrirá un tema sea snacks o ropa de moda.

Calentamiento (5 minutos)

Explicar el propósito de la entrevista: Me gustaría hablar contigo sobre snacks/marcas de ropa. Me gustaría saber qué te gusta/ no te gusta de ellos, por qué los compras. No existen respuestas buenas y malas, lo que me interesa es tu punto de vista.

¿Te gusta comer snacks/ ir de compras a por ropa?

¿Compras muchos snacks? ¿Cuáles son tus favoritos? ¿Compras mucha ropa? ¿Qué marcas/tiendas prefieres?

¿Sueles comprar snacks/ropa tú sola, con tus padres, con tus hermanos, con alguien más? ¿Cuánto dinero tienes para gastar cada semana?

Clasificación en tríadas (15-20 minutos)

Te voy a ir dando tres tarjetas cada vez, con el nombre de una marca en cada una de ellas. Me gustaría que las mirases cada una de las marcas y que escogieses la que es 'diferente' o que no pega con las otras dos marcas.

Por ejemplo, si te doy los nombres: *Milky Way*, *Cadbury's chocolate buttons*, y *Lion Bar*, podrías decirme que *Cadbury's chocolate buttons* es la 'rara' porque tiene muchas chocolatinas, mientras que las otras dos son una barra. O podrías decirme que es diferente porque es más ligera, y las otras dos llenan más. O podrías decirme que la 'rara' es *Lion Bar* porque las otras dos marcas son para niños pequeños pero *Lion Bar* es para los más mayores.

Por ejemplo, si te digo los nombres: *Kookai*, *Next* y *Marks & Spencer*, podrías decirme que *Marks & Spencer* es la 'rara' porque es aburrida, mientras que las otras dos están de moda. O podrías decirme que es la 'rara' porque también vende comida y las otras sólo ropa. O podrías pensar que *Kookai* es la que no pega porque es para gente joven y las otras dos son para gente más mayor.

Cuál es la que no pega? ¿Por qué?

Hay otra razón que no pega? ¿Hay otra marca entre estas tres que no pega?

En caso de dificultad, añadir 'pre-stage':

¿Cómo es la marca x, y la marca y, y z? ¿Cómo describirías la marca x, y la marca y, y z? ¿Y ahora, cuál es la que no pega? ¿Por qué? Por ejemplo, pensar en las siguientes cosas: estilo, apariencia, imagen, sabor, forma, publicidad, paquete etc.

Conseguir tantos polos (atributos/construcciones) como sea posible de cada set de tarjetas. Entonces, pasar a las tres siguientes. Hacer tantas combinaciones de tres tarjetas como sea posible. Anotar las construcciones.

Escalamiento (35-40 minutos)

¿Cuáles de estos pares de cosas (constructs) que has mencionado son más importantes para tí cuando vas a comprar snacks/una prenda de ropa? ¿Hay otras cosas importantes que no hemos mencionado?

Usar las construcciones elegidas por las entrevistadas. Coger una construcción cada vez.

¿Cuál de este par de cosas (es decir, qué extremo de esta construcción) prefieres? ¿Cuál crees que es mejor? *Concentrarse entonces en ese elemento (por ejemplo, para gente joven, que va a la moda, que te llena...)*

¿Qué es lo que te gusta de esto? ¿Qué tiene de bueno esto? ¿Por qué es importante para tí? *Seguir explorando y haciendo estas preguntas hasta que las entrevistadas no puedan aportar más información.*

En caso de quedarse bloqueadas/incapacidad para contestar: ¿Qué sería lo malo de no tener esto? ¿Cómo te sentirías? ¿Qué llevarías/comerías si no te pudieses comprar esto? ¿Por qué es mejor esto?

¿Cuándo/dónde comes/llevas puesto esto normalmente (por ejemplo, de moda, que te llena)? ¿Qué te gusta de esto?

Piensa en la última vez que te pusiste/comiste algo así (por ejemplo, de moda, que te llena)? ¿Qué te gustó de esto?

¿Has cambiado el tipo de snacks/ropa que comes/llevas comparado con hace unos años? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué comes/llevas X ahora? ¿Qué es lo que te gusta ahora de X?

¿Cuáles son las cosas de picar/ropa que comen/se ponen tus amigos? ¿Por qué crees que tus amigos comen/llevan cosas como ésta? ¿Qué es lo que les gusta de estas cosas? ¿Qué piensas de eso?

Imagínate que estás en el parque... camino del cine... regresando del colegio... ¿Qué tienes puesto/ estás comiendo? ¿Por qué?

Imagínate que tienes puesto/estás comiendo x... ¿Cómo te hace sentir?

Explorar cada una de las construcciones resaltadas como importantes por las entrevistadas en orden, siguiendo el formato descrito arriba. Cuando la entrevistada no pueda aportar más información, acabar la entrevista.

Muchas gracias por tu tiempo.

APPENDIX 4

RECRUITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Text cut off in original

Recruitment Q'aire

Appendix 3



Anne Dibley
03/19/99 06:22 PM

To: Hayley Tedder/CranfieldSchoolOfManagement@cranfieldschoolofmanagement
cc:
Subject: Kids Recruitment quest new version

Hi Hayley,
Can you print this out for me?
Thanks,
Anne

----- Forwarded by Anne Dibley/CranfieldSchoolOfManagement on 03/19/99 06:25 PM -----



a.delconte@added-value.co.uk
03/19/99 05:22 PM

To: Anne Dibley/CranfieldSchoolOfManagement
cc:
Subject: Kids Recruitment quest new version

Anne

I enclose a new version of the recruitment questionnaire and I've copied it also here below (never know that you can't open the document). I will call Contact up to now are Clare G daughter, Sarah Brett in Account has a little sister interested in the research and Jo's mum (Jo works in the field team Andrew Lane also has a daughter which is 12 and fits all criteria a part from the fact that she is in the 2nd year at Secondary School. Is it absolutely Have a nice weekend.

Alex

.....

Hello, my name is and I work for The Added Value Company, a Marketing Agency. We are conducting a market research project for Cran

Q1a Do you work or have you ever worked in any of the following occupations or industries?

Q1b Does any member of your family or close friends work or have they worked ever in any of the following occupations or industries?

a. b.

Advertising	1	1		
Marketing	1	1		
Market Research	1	1	Journalism	1 1
Public Relations	1	1		
Design companies	1	1		
Retail or manufacture of food			and retail products	1 1
Grocers/supermarkets	1	1		
Newsagents	1	1		
Retail shops	1	1		
<hr/>				
None of these	2	2		

2.10 gift you

If respondent says "Yes" to any of the above coded 1 - Close.

Q2 And can you tell me the age/sex of your children living at home with you?

Male / Female Age :

Male / Female Age :

Continue if the respondent has a female child within the age range of 11/12 yrs old

Q3 Is your 11/12 yrs daughter attending the first year of secondary school ?

Yes 1 Continue
No 2 Close

(or last yr. of primary school)
or 2nd yr. of secondary school ?

All to be attending the first year of secondary school in same school yr.

Q4 Has your daughter ever attended a Market Research group discussion or depth interview before?

Yes 1 Ask Q.4a
No 2 Continue to Q.5

Q4a. What subjects has your daughter attended discussions on?

Write in:

Please ensure that respondent has never attended a group discussion or depth interview which is connected in any way with clothes or snacks

about the kind of snacks + clothing brands she likes.

Q5 As I mentioned earlier we would be interested in interviewing your daughter. Would you agree with this ?

Yes 1 Continue
No 1 Close

→ What type of school does your daughter go to ? → How much pocket money does she get per week?

All to agree that their daughters participate to research

→ On a scale of 1-5 (where 1 = ^{v. little} + 5 = a large amt.) How much influence does your daughter have on the type of snacks you buy for the family?

→ Q6 I will need to ask your daughter some questions. Could you please put me through to her?

Yes 1 Continue
No 1 Close

→ How much do you spend, on average, per week, on snacks for your daughter?
How much do you spend, on average per mth, on clothes?
... How much influence do your daughter have on the makes of clothes she wears?

INTRODUCE YOURSELF TO KID

Explain you will be asking a couple of questions regarding snacks and clothes usage/awareness

Q7a In which if any of the following snacks have you personally bought in the past 2 weeks ? Q7b And which if any are you only aware of ?

	Q.7a Bought in past 2 weeks	Q.7b Aware CRISPS	Walkers Crisps	1	1
Quavers 2	2				
Wotsits 3	3				
Hula Hoops 4	4				
Skips 5	5				

Monster Munch	6	6		
Pringles	7	7		
Twiglets	8	8		
Doritos	9	9		
K.P. Nuts	10	10		
CONFECTIONERY/SNACKS			Kit Kat	11 11
Mars Bars	12	12		
Galaxy	13	13		
Twix	14	14		
Snickers	15	15		
Aero	16	16		
Cadbury's Dairy Milk	17	17		
M & Ms	18	18		
Maltesers	19	19		
Mini Jaffa Cakes	20	20		
Mr Kipling Jaffa Cakes	21	21	21	
Mini Cheddars	22	22		
Dairylea Dunkers	23	23		
Cadbury's Mini Rolls	24	24		
Cartoomes	25	25		
Iced Gems	26	26		
Break Away	27	27		
Trio	28	28		
Penguin	29	29		
Club	30	30		
Mini Mars Bars	31	31		
Froobs (yoghurt)	32	32		

6 respondents to have personally bought at least 2 snacks brands in the past 2 weeks 6 to be aware of at least 10 snacks brands

Q8a In which if any of the following fashion clothing brands have you personally bought in the past 3 months ? Q8b And which if any are you only aware ?

FASHION CLOTHING BRANDS	Q.8a	Bought in past 3 months	Q.8b	Aware Gap	1	1
Adidas	2	2				
Nike	3	3				
Reebok	4	4				
Levis	5	5				
Calvin Klein	6	6				
Lego	7	7				
Caterpillar	8	8				
Benetton	9	9				
DKNY	10	10				
Tommy Hilfiger	11	11				
Other (write in)		12 12				

6 respondents to have personally bought from the above list at least 1 fashion clothing item within the past 3 months All to be aware of at least of 5 fashion clothing brands of the above list

Q9 Which with the following statements would you say you agree / disagree with ?

Agree	Disagree	I love taking a break with a snack	*	I always tend to look out for new snacks to try	*	I never eat s:
		I enjoy shopping for new clothing items	*	I like to look nice in the clothes I am wearing	*	I don't really
		care what I wear, I'm more interested in other things such		X I tend to buy clothing brands that are well known	*	
		I always go shopping for with my mum and I don't have a real choice in what I wear		X		

All to agree with the statements marked with an asterisk and to disagree with statements marked X

Q10a Imagine you were on a non stop train journey what will last 10 hours. Which famous person, living or dead would you choose to take wi

Write in : _____

Q10b Could you please tell me which recent TV ^{prog.} ad you most prefer and why ?

Write in : _____

All respondent should be able to answer Q10a and Q10b easily. All must reply in an articulate and creative way

 - KIDS RESEARCH RECR QUEST |  - KIDS RESEARCH RECR QUEST

PROJECT KIDS
Cuestionario de reclutamiento

THE ADDED VALUE COMPANY

6 Lower Teddington Road, Hampton Wick, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey KT1 4ER
 Telephone: 0181 614 1667 Fax: 0181 6141699

Nombre del reclutador:	
Entrevista n°:	

Hola, me llamo — y trabajo para The Added Value Company, una agencia de Marketing. Estamos haciendo un estudio para la Universidad de Cranfield sobre el papel que juegan las marcas en la vida de los niños, centrándonos en categorías de productos tales como snacks y ropa de moda. Me gustaría hacerle unas preguntas.

P1a ¿Trabaja o ha trabajado alguna vez en alguna de las siguientes ocupaciones o industrias?

P1b ¿Trabaja o ha trabajado alguno de sus familiares o amigos íntimos en alguna de las siguientes ocupaciones o industrias?

	a.	b.
Publicidad	1	1
Marketing	1	1
Investigación de Mercados	1	1
Periodismo	1	1
Relaciones Públicas	1	1
Empresas de diseño	1	1
Producción/venta de productos alimenticios y productos al por menor	1	1
Ultramarinos/Supermercados	1	1
Kioskos	1	1
Tiendas al por menor		
.....		
Ninguna de las anteriores	2	2

Terminar si el entrevistado responde 'Sí' a cualquiera de las preguntas codificadas con un 1.

P2 ¿Podría decirme la edad/sexo de los hijos que estén viviendo en casa con usted?

Hombre / Mujer Edad :

Hombre / Mujer Edad :

Continuar si el entrevistado tiene una niña de entre 11 y 12 años

P3 ¿Está su hija de 11/12 años estudiando el primer curso de secundaria?

Si 1 *Continuar*

No 2 *Terminar*

Todas deben estar en el primer año de Enseñanza Secundaria

P4 ¿Ha asistido alguna vez su hija a un Estudio de Mercado o a una entrevista en profundidad con anterioridad?

Si 1 *Preguntar P.4a*

No 2 *Seguir con P.5*

P4a. ¿Sobre qué temas se hablaron en los grupos a los que asistió su hija?

Apuntar:

Asegurarse de que la entrevistada nunca haya asistido a un grupo de discusión o entrevista en profundidad relacionada con ropa o snacks

P5 Como le mencioné anteriormente, estamos interesados en entrevistar a su hija. ¿Daría su permiso?

Si 1 *Continuar*

No 1 *Terminar*

Todos deben aceptar que su hija participe en el estudio

P6. ¿A qué clase de colegio va su hija?

Privado 1

Estatal 2

Sin cuota

P7. ¿Cuánto dinero de bolsillo o paga semanal le da a su hija?

Nada	1
Menos de £ 2	2
Entre £3-5	3
Entre £6-8	4
Entre £9-10	5
Entre £10-15	6
Más de £ 15	7

Sin cuota

P8. En una escala del 1 al 4, en la que 1 sería 'ninguna' y 4 'mucho', ¿cuánta influencia tiene su hija en cuanto a la clase de snacks que usted compra para la familia?

Ninguna	1	<i>Terminar</i>
Muy poca	2	
Tiene alguna influencia	3	
Tiene mucha influencia	4	

Terminar si el entrevistado codifica 1 en P8

P9. En una escala del 1 al 4,, en la que 1 sería 'ninguna' y 4 'mucho', ¿cuánta influencia tiene su hija en cuanto a la ropa que lleva?

Ninguna	1	<i>Terminar</i>
Muy poca	2	
Tiene alguna influencia	3	
Tiene mucha influencia	4	

Terminar si el entrevistado codifica 1 en P9

P10. ¿Cuánto se gasta como término medio semanalmente en snacks para su hija? (Probar)

Apuntar :

Sin cuota

P11. ¿Cuánto se gasta por término medio mensualmente en ropa para su hija? (Probar)

Apuntar:

.....

.....

.....

Sin cuota

P12 Necesitaré hacerle unas preguntas a su hija. ¿Podría pasármela?

Si	1	<i>Continuar</i>
No	1	<i>Terminar</i>

Presentarse ante la niña

Explicar que le vas a hacer un par de preguntas sobre snacks y ropa.

P13a ¿Cuál de los siguientes snacks has comprado personalmente durante las 2 últimas semanas?

P13b ¿Cuáles conoces?

	P.13a Compradas en las 2 últimas semanas	P.13b Conocidas
PATATAS FRITAS		
✓ Walkers Crisps	1	1
✓ Quavers	2	2
✓ Wotsits	3	3
✓ Hula Hoops	4	4
✓ Skips	5	5
✓ Monster Munch	6	6
✓ Pringles	7	7
✓ Twiglets	8	8
✓ Doritos	9	9
✓ K.P. Nuts	10	10
CHOCOLATES/ SNACKS		
✓ Kit Kat	11	11
✓ Mars Bars	12	12
✓ Galaxy	13	13
✓ Twix	14	14
✓ Snickers	15	15
Aero	16	16
Cadbury's Dairy Milk	17	17
M & Ms	18	18
Malteseers	19	19
Mini Jaffa Cakes	20	20
Mr Kipling Jaffa Cakes	21	21
Mini Cheddars	22	22
Dairylea Dunkers	23	23
Cadbury's Mini Rolls	24	24
Cartoomes	25	25
Iced Gems	26	26
Break Away	27	27
Trio	28	28
Penguin	29	29
Club	30	30
Mini Mars Bars	31	31
Froobs (yoghurt)	32	32

6 entrevistados tienen que haber comprado personalmente al menos 2 marcas de snacks en las 2 últimas semanas. 6 tienen que conocer por lo menos 10 marcas de snacks

- P14a ¿Cuál de las siguientes marcas de ropa de moda has comprado personalmente en los últimos 3 meses?
(Probar- puede haberlas comprado con su madre, pero necesita haberlas elegido personalmente)
- P14b ¿Cuáles conoces?

MARCAS DE ROPA DE MODA	P.14a Ha comprado en los últimos 3 meses	P.14b Conocidas
✓ Gap	1	1
✓ Adidas	2	2
✓ Nice Nike	3	3
✓ Reebok	4	4
✓ Levis	5	5
✓ Calvin Klein	6	6
✓ Lego	7	7
✓ Caterpillar	8	8
✓ Benetton	9	9
? DKNY	10	10
✓ Joe Bloggs	11	11
✓ Naff Naff	12	12
✓ Diesel	13	13
✓ Lee	14	14
✓ Wrangler	15	15
✓ Pepe	16	16
✓ 15 Giorgio Armani (Jeans)	17	17
Tommy Hilfiger	18	18
Otras (apuntar)	19	19

6 entrevistados deben haber comprado/ elegido al menos 1 prenda de alguna de las marcas de ropa de la lista anterior durante los 3 últimos meses
Todos deben conocer al menos 5 marcas de ropa de la lista anterior

- P15 ¿Con cuál de las siguientes frases estás de acuerdo/ en desacuerdo?

	Agree	Disagree
Me encanta hacer una pausa con un snack	1*	1
Siempre estoy buscando nuevos snacks que probar	2*	2
No tomo nunca snacks porque siempre estoy a dieta	3	3*
Me encanta ir de compras a por ropa	4*	4
Me gusta que lo que llevo puesto me quede bien	5*	5
Realmente no me importa lo que llevo puesto, me interesan más otras cosas	6	6*
Suelo comprar marcas de ropas conocidas	7*	7
Siempre voy de compras con mi madre y no puedo elegir realmente lo que quiero llevar	8	8*

Entrevistas sobre snacks: todos deben estar de acuerdo con las afirmaciones 1 y 2 y en desacuerdo con 3.

Entrevistas de ropa: todos deben estar de acuerdo con las afirmaciones 4, 5 y 7 y en desacuerdo con las 6 y 8.

P16a Imagina que estás en un viaje de 10 horas sin paradas. ¿A qué persona famosa, que esté viva o que haya muerto, elegirías para que viajase contigo? ¿Por qué?

Apuntar :

.....

.....

P16b ¿Me podrías decir cuál de los últimos anuncios de TV prefieres y por qué?

Apuntar :

.....

.....

Todas las entrevistadas deben responder a las P16a y P16b fácilmente. Todas deben contestar de una manera creativa y clara

COMPLETAR LOS DATOS DE LA ENTREVISTADA EN MAYUSCULAS, INCLUYENDO EL PREFIJO TELEFONICO DE ZONA

Nombre:	
Direccion:	
Telefono(s):	
Fecha de la entrevista	
Hora de la entrevista	
Direccion de la entrevista	

Muchas gracias por tu colaboración.

**COMPROBAR LAS CUOTAS INDIVIDUALES Y RECLUTAR Estrictamente
SEGUN INSTRUCCIONES**

APPENDIX 5

LADDERS: UK, SNACKS [PILOT]

Individual Respondents' Ladders: UK Interviews, Snacks

Shape and appearance (crisps) (1)

R2 Unusual shape → don't know what it'll feel like in mouth → surprise (13) → makes a change (13)

R3 Weird shapes → gets you interested (14) → something different (13) → feel better (27)

R5 Original shapes → look interesting (14) → looks like they'll taste interesting (14) → makes you want to eat them (14) → avoids boredom/ enjoyment (31)

R5 Different shapes → look like they'll taste interesting (14) → experience lots of different tastes (13) → can tell people about it and recommend it (25) → helping others (so they can experience something new and different too) (28).

R6 Different shapes → look interesting (14) → look eye-catching (14) → look like they'll taste nicer (13) → nice to have different things once in a while (13).

R6 Colour of crisp → bright and cheerful (14) → feel better when you eat them (27).

R6 Monster shapes → amusing (15) → fun (31).

Range of flavours available (crisps): 2

R1 Range of flavours (2) → avoids boredom/ makes a change (13)

R1 → choice; can find something you like (13)

R3 Range of flavours → choice (13) → try new flavours (13) → excitement (16)

→ excitement of seeing what others think (25) →

see that others like it too → you're not the 'odd one out'; avoid feeling left out (29) → avoid feeling alone (29).

R4 Range of flavours → choice (13) → avoids boredom (14) → avoids going off one flavour, which then means you stop buying it.

R5 Range of flavours → choice → feels better to change rather than stay the same (13) → avoids boredom/enjoyment (31)

Size of pack and quantity in pack: 3

R1 Quantity in pack (high) → can buy less (19) AND → satisfies hunger (17) → keeps you going (17)

R1 (low) → good for diet (18) → avoids getting fat (18), needing to buy new clothes; dying

R2 Big bags → for a party → cheaper → save money (19) → have more money to spend on other things (19).

Type and strength of flavour (crisps): 4

R2 Strong flavour → instant recognition; you know you've got what you wanted (20).

R5 Strong flavour → fills you up immediately (17)

R2 Exotic flavours → learn about food from different countries → interesting (14).

R4 Important to know the flavour → avoid disliking product → avoid wasting money (19)

R4 and R6 Cheesy taste → familiar flavour → you know what you're buying/ you know you like it (20).

Light versus Fattening: 5

R2 Light crisps → good for diets (18), but can fill you up (17) → avoids spending money (19)

R2

→ better for you (34)

R2

→ keeps you going until next meal (17)

Smell: 6

R1 Nice smell → expectation of nice taste (22) → feeling I've got something other people haven't got → avoids being jealous of what others have got (30)

R5 Smell → strong smell means you can almost taste it (22).

Nature of chocolate bar: 7

R4 Caramel → nice flavour (22) → leaves nice taste in mouth (22) → want more/enjoyment (31)

R4 White chocolate → milky and sweet → leaves a nice taste (22)

R4 Dislikes chocolate with biscuits or nuts → biscuit is different; all mixed up with chocolate → not a nice taste.

R5 Two sticks (Kit-Kat) → can take time over one and 'scoff' the other → can eat it any way you like (e.g. eat chocolate off first, then eat biscuit) (13) → gives you two different things (wafer and chocolate) (14).

R5 Caramel and chocolate together (Twix and Mars) → can eat it in different ways (13)
→ interesting combination of tastes and textures (14) → ingredients go together really well → gets rid of hunger (17) → don't need to eat anything else (17).

R6 Biscuit and chocolate combination → feels healthier (34).

R6 Combination of nuts, caramel, chocolate → tastes nicer → more flavour (22).

R5 Being able to see and feel nuts in the bar → crunchy → feels like 'proper' food → feels healthier (34) → feels better (27) → avoids bad teeth and upset tummies, but need sugary stuff to keep blood sugar up → makes your body work better (27); not too bad for you.

R6 KP Nuts → good for a party → feels like an adult thing (24).

R5 Chocolate/crisps in general → nice to have a treat → healthy foods all the time can get boring

Sensation in mouth: 8

R1 Crunchy → stays in mouth longer (21) → lasts for whole of break time (21) → avoids sitting watching others eat and therefore feeling hungry (17) → avoids wanting what others have (30).

R2 Crunchy → lasts longer (21) → more enjoyment (31).

R2 Crunchy/smooth → feel taste and shape in mouth → pleasant sensation (22) → feel happy (32)

R3 Crunchy → makes a good sound → makes a loud noise → play games with friends making loud noises (25) → fun (31).

R3 Crisps you can suck → get your money's worth (19) → fills you up (17) → don't need to eat again for ages (17) → save money (19).

R3 Smooth/melts in mouth → doesn't dig into your mouth → feels nice (22).

R4 Soft crisps → easier to eat (23) and get all the flavour → full flavour → nice to eat (22)

R4 → easier to eat (23) → suitable for younger kids

R5 Soft crisps → dissolve/melt in mouth → fizzes in your mouth → feels nice (22) → feel not too full (17) → avoid feeling sick (27) → feel satisfied (30).

R5 Solid, harder crisps → avoids hunger and fills you up (17)

R5 → last a long time (21) → uses up the break (21) → feels like you've had more than a bag of crisps (17)

R5 Chewy crisps → not particularly hungry but makes mouth feel good (22) → feel satisfied (30)

Pack design and format: 9

R2 Distinctive crisp pack colours → avoids buying what you don't want by mistake (20) → avoids triggering allergies → avoids harm (27).

R3 Brightly coloured packs → looks interesting (14) → anticipation of enjoyment → leaps out at you (14) → can buy quickly (23).

R2 Packs that allow you to see what you're getting → can judge whether crisps will fill you up or not (20) → spend money wisely (19).

R3 Competitions on pack → excitement, enjoyment of trying to win (16) → a game/fun (31)

R6 Giveaways in pack → getting something free → feel you're not spending too much money (19) → feel good (30).

R5 Pringles box/tube → easier to use → easy to hold, pick up, grab (23) → useful

R5 → doesn't make a noise → avoids disturbing people if watching TV (28)

R6 Pringles tube/box → good for dinner party → avoids crisps being crushed → looks nicer → avoids people thinking you don't take care in presentation/reassuring (20) → makes it a happier evening (32).

R6 Crisp packets → handy for school (23) → right size for your school bag (23) → can fit other things in school bag too

R6 → right amount to eat (17) → avoids eating too many → avoids getting fat (18) → if you're fat people think you're not a nice girl (29) → feel bad.

R5 Kit Kat foil wrapper → interesting rustling on opening (14)

Brand name: 10

R1 Well-known brand → friends like what I have (20) → can share with friends; give things to friend; swap with friend (25) → friends feel grateful → have a crowd of people round you, and get lots of attention → feel popular; have lots of people to talk to (25) → to have friends; not be alone (29).

R3 Well-known brand → you know it's popular (20) → avoid feeling embarrassed; feel better (27)

R2 Well-known brand → everyone likes it (20) → encourages you to try new varieties (13).

R4 Well-known brand → you know who has made it → you know what you're getting (20) → you know that you like it (20).

R3 Well-known brand → you know you're not the only person who likes something (20) → don't want to be the 'odd one out' (29).

R1 Walkers cheese n'Owen → he's a good footballer; everyone likes him (20) → you and your friends can all talk about the same things, swap news (25) → stimulating conversations (25) → fun (31).

R3 Descriptive name → you know what to expect (20) → you can see what you're getting (20).

R6 Descriptive name → you know what you're buying (20) → you know not to buy something you're allergic to → avoid getting a rash or being sick (27)

R4 If not allowed to have crisps → would have to watch everyone else at school eating theirs' (break time, lunchtime) → people would tease you → feel upset; would feel that people teasing were not your friends.

R6 Crisps in general → can swap with friends (25) → means you can have different things (e.g. two crisps for two mini cheddars) → have had different things that you like (13) → feel good/satisfied (30).

R6 Monster Munch, maybe Skips, Quavers and Wotsits → children's brands
R6 Doritos, Twiglets, Pringles, KP Nuts → adult brands → nice to buy adult brands but only if taste is nice and price not too expensive (adult brands tend to be more expensive) → feel more grown up (24) → feel good/satisfied (30).
R6 Hula Hoops → for children and adults.
R6 Walkers → for children and adults

TV Advertising:11

R4 TV advertising → describes food → you know what you're getting (20).

R5 TV advertising → makes brands more well known → makes them look nice (14) → you know it'll be good before you buy it (20) → avoids wasting money (19).

R5 Galaxy advertising → feel you can just lie on sofa and eat Galaxy → relaxing (26) → good to relax sometimes because always running around (27).

Price: 12

R4 Mid price → too cheap: can't be very nice; too expensive: can't afford it

APPENDIX 6

LADDERS:

SPAIN, SNACKS [PILOT]

Individual Respondents' Ladders: Spanish Interviews, Snacks

1. Shape and appearance (crisps)

R1 Large crisps → you get more crisps → They last longer (18) → you save some for later → don't need to go and buy more (convenience) (20)

R1 Large crisps → last longer (18) → keeps you occupied, *"If you're watching a scary film you can nibble on crisps instead of your nails"* → keeps you entertained (24)

R1 Different shaped crisps, Hula Hoops → can put them on your fingers (24) → fun, adventure (29)

R2 Interesting shapes → appeal more (14) → fun (29)

R2 Monster Munch shape → can eat the fingers first (24) → fun (29)

R2 Monster Munch shape → can pick them up easily → can watch TV at the same time (convenient) (20)

R3 Shape - small crisps (e.g. Wotsits) → easy to eat them, you don't have to open your mouth too much → easier to chew (20) → you don't eat them in big mouthfuls → you can take your time (22) → feel good (well-being) (26)

R5 Prefers thinner, finer crisps (Walkers) → they melt in your mouth more quickly (19) → it doesn't stay in your mouth for long after the crisp has lost its flavour → tastes better

R5 Unusual shapes → amusing/enjoyable (14)

2. Range of flavours available (crisps)

R1 Walkers → wider selection → you can pick whichever flavour you want (13) → makes you want to go back to that shop (convenience) (20)

R2 Lots of flavours → variation (13) → stops you getting bored (24)

R4 Lots of flavours → more choice (13) → you can try new things, and find out how they taste (13) → enjoyment (29)

R5 Wide range available → easier to find what you want → convenience (20)

3. Size of pack and quantity in pack (crisps)

R2 Lots of crisps in pack → eat more → you don't run out and don't feel you need any more (18) → enjoy more (29)
→ don't have to go to shop again (convenient) (20)

R3 Large packs → satisfies hunger (15)

R4 Normal sized pack (not small pack) → get more crisps → pack lasts longer (18) → more enjoyment (29)

4. Type and strength of flavour (crisps)

R1 Salt 'n Vinegar flavour → tasty, mixed flavour → look forward to having this taste (19) → feel happy *"over the moon"* (30)

R1 Tangy flavour (Doritos) → *"like a party in your mouth"* (24) → can chew or suck, different ways to eat (24) → fun (29)

R2 Strong taste → it feels like you're eating more crisps, *"It's like you've put two crisps in your mouth"* (18) → enjoy it more (29)

R2 Unusual flavours → variety (13) → don't get bored (24)

R3 Strong flavours → nice taste (19) → it's like having more crisps (18) → can eat more calmly (22) → feel better (well-being) (26)

R3 → offer to friends (21) → feel you're doing something for your friends (27) → friendship (28)

R4 Strong taste → nice taste (19) → enjoyment, pleasure (29)

R5 Strong, spicy taste → taste remains in mouth longer → longer lasting (18) → pleasant sensation (19)

R5 Savoury taste → takes away hunger (15)

R6 Cheesy taste → delicious → takes away hunger (15)

R6 Cheesy taste → delicious, gives pleasure (19)

R6 Spicy flavour → important to know if it's spicy because there's a good chance you won't like it

5. Nature of chocolate bar

R1 One block of chocolate → you don't have to make much movement or effort to eat it (20) → relaxing (22)

R1 Snickers, caramel, nuts and chocolate combination → nice taste (19) → stops you getting hungry (15)

R2 Sweet taste → nice flavour (19) → gives you more energy (23) → makes you feel good (well-being) (26)

R2 Caramel → stretches in your mouth (19) → feel good, more alive and active (23)
→ feel relaxed (if you haven't eaten it for a while) (22)

R2 Chunky chocolate → you have to open your mouth wide; you get more chocolate in each bite (19) → more enjoyment (29)

R4 More than one piece of chocolate → can save a piece for later (18)

R4 Caramel → sweet taste (19) → enjoyment (29)

R4 Galaxy → sweet taste (19) → enjoyment (29)

R5 Sweet taste → enjoyment (29)

R5 Twix, two bars → don't need to break it → convenient (20)

R5 Twix, two bars → can share it with a friend (21) → you feel you're being a good friend (28)

R5 Caramel and biscuit together → nice taste (19) → enjoyment (29)

R5 Twix → good to eat if you're tired → easy to eat (20)

R5 Twix → good to eat if you only have one hand free → easy to eat (20)

R6 Kit Kat, crunchy → makes a great noise → attracts your attention/ makes you feel pleased (24)

R6 Mars - lots of chocolate → more flavour, pleasant (19) → feel 'in heaven', relaxed (22)

6. Sensation in mouth

R1 Quavers, melt in mouth → you don't need to chew them a lot (20) → they don't damage your teeth or braces → helpful, useful (20))

R2 Wotsits stick to your teeth → stained teeth → everyone looks at you because you look weird (25)

R4 Caramel → sticks to your teeth (reverse of 19) → you have to get it out of your teeth all the time → can be annoying (reverse of 26)

7. Pack design and format

R1 Offers on pack → school collects tokens → you're doing something nice for the school; helping out as much as you can (27) → people are happy with you → feel satisfied with self (31)

R1 Colourful packs → attracts your attention (14) → encourages you to buy

R2 Bright colours → can find it more easily (20) → don't waste time (20)

R2 Bag preferred to box → easier to carry around in school bag (20) → more space for books and other things (convenient) (20)

R2 Interesting wrapper: pictures and colours → more appealing (14)

R3 Bright lively pack colours → more appealing → more interesting (14)

R4 Pringles box → can put lid back and save some (18) → can be useful (20)

R5 Prizes/competitions on pack → feel you might win something, keeps you entertained (24) → feel lucky; winning is enjoyable (29)

R6 Pringles box → you get more crisps (18) → good value for money (16) → save money (16)

R6 Pringles box → keeps them fresh → crunchy and retain taste → give pleasure (19)

8. Brand name

R1 McCoys - favourite brand → likes to share them with best friend (21) → feel comfortable, satisfied (31)

R3 *"Everyone in the class likes Monster Munch"* → makes you feel good, feel you fit in (25)

R3 If you eat something other people don't like → *"they might say bad things about me"* → feel bad, excluded, not fitting in (25).

R4 Well known brand name → means it's better quality (17)

9. Price

R1 Cheaper products (16) → can buy more or buy the same thing again (18) → feel happy (30)

R5 Cheaper products (16) → your parents will agree to buy it for you

10. For adults versus for kids (for kids)

R2 Galaxy - more for adults → just chocolate → less interesting than kids' bars (14)

APPENDIX 7

LADDERS:

UK, CLOTHING [PILOT]

Individual Respondents' Ladders: UK Interviews. Clothing

For different age groups. 1

R2 Pink and yellow frilly dresses → no-one wears dresses after 10 years old → babyish (14) → people laugh at you (17)

R3 Frilly party dresses → parents think you look cute → "you want to feel older when you're younger, and you don't want to feel like you're a baby again" (14) → choice and freedom (29)

R4 Teenagers' clothes → feel grown up (14) → don't want to feel like you're going backwards (14)

R5 Teenagers' clothes → "14-15 year olds want to look like Barbie girls" (14) → want to look slim (17)

Brands with accessories. 2

R5 Best friend necklace → reassurance: (15) "Just so that I know that my best friend is my best friend, I bought her a necklace...and she bought me one. It just makes you feel better knowing that she's your best friend still. But she can go with anyone she wants and I can go with anyone I want" → security (31) → feel comfortable with self (32)

Fashionable. 3

R1 Fashionable/'girly' → to be a bit different for a change (16) → avoids people copying you (16) → want to feel something is 'your thing' and not have this taken away from you: belongs to you (35).

R1 Fashionable/'girly' → friends look at what you're wearing → friends say they like your clothes (16) → feel you're in with the fashion (17) → avoid being bullied ("Other people get bullied at school if they are not really with the fashion") (17).

R1 Fashionable → wear something a bit different (16) → people notice you and say you look nice (16) → people show you attention and concern → feel good about yourself (32)

R1 Belly tops → get a sun tan → make friends jealous (16)

R1 Flares, belly top, cardigan → good to look jazzy if you're going out and will be seen by lots of people (16)

R2 Long skirt → looks good (18)

R2 Fashionable clothes → look older (14) → gives freedom and responsibility (29)

R2 Unfashionable clothes → different to everyone else (17) → you don't fit in (17)

R2 Funky clothes → look nice (18) → look cool, but not too cool (19) → don't draw attention to yourself (17) → avoid people saying/thinking you look disgusting/tarty (17) → fear of losing friends (30)

R2 Fashionable clothes at a disco or party → good to be noticed (16) → "people won't like you if you are out of things"; "if I was noticed, the cool people would want to be next to me, whereas if I was looking really plain and boring, all the cool people would go together, and I would get left to go with the horrid people": desire to be liked and be part of the 'in' crowd (30) → feel good

R3 Mini platform trainers → feel tall (14) → don't have to look up at people (34) → feel happy (33)

→ feel different (16) → people are impressed (16) → feel good/self-satisfied (32)

R3 Combat trousers, strappy tops, body warmers → Feel cool; like Denise Van Outen, Billy (19) → feel pretty (18)

R4 Trendy clothes, combats → lots of pockets → useful (27)
→ good fit (22) → comfortable (22)

R6 Fashionable clothes → people like what you are wearing (16) → people ask about your clothes (16) → feel happy/ self-satisfied (32)

R6 Fashionable/tarty clothes → so you can dance with boys → good to be noticed (16) → good to not be alone → avoid feeling lonely and upset (30)

R6 Long skirt and top → matches well (18) → avoids people commenting on it (17)

Sportswear. 4

R1 Sportswear → need to wear Reebok, Adidas, Puma, Fila → you get picked on if you wear the wrong makes (Two Stripe, Active) (17)

R1 Sportswear → everyone wears the expensive brands → feel that you 'fit in'; people get picked on if they aren't wearing what everyone else wears (17)

R1 Sportswear → feel comfortable (22)

R1 Sportswear → like having logo/brand name → "I just like to know I'm not going to get bullied" (17) → feel good, at ease (32).

R1 Sportswear → loose, baggy → can run better and faster (20) → can play games with friends better (21)

R1 Sportswear → looks nice (18)

R1 Sportswear (cycling shorts) → don't sweat (22) → avoid smelling (23)

R3 Sportswear → plain, effective and simple, Nike tick → looks nice, fresh and a bit different (16) → a nice change (16) → Feel special (34)

R3 Sportswear, Nike tick → everyone knows it → you know it's good (15) → people notice you (16) → you feel important (34)

R4 Trainers → whites and blues → look like girls' trainers → distinguishes them from boys' trainers → new style, a bit different (16) → feel trendy (19) → feel good, special (34)

R5 Sportswear → can run around without worrying "that my skirt's blown up in the wind...or stuck in my knickers or something" (20)

R6 Sportswear for rugby, cricket, netball, trampolining (goes to Tammy and C&A) → can run around easily (20) → can get into the game more and try harder for my team (21) → can help the team → feel happy (to have helped team) (30)

R6 Adidas → everyone knows it (15) → look nice (18) → people think well of you, "people judge you by what you're wearing" (32)

R6 Sportswear → own choice → not being treated like a baby (14) → Freedom and certain independence (29) → "important to be yourself": sense of identity (35)

Designer labels. 5

R2 Designer labels → showing off (16) → make people think they are cool (19)

R4 Well known name → everyone's heard of them (15) → people recognise the clothes you're wearing (15) → feel good about yourself (32)

R5 Giorgio Armani → comfortable fabrics (22) → carpet fluff doesn't stick to track-suit bottoms, doesn't bobble and fall apart (26)
→ not too tight → feel comfortable (22)

R5 Designer labels → looks nice, but only if it fits! (18)

R5 DKNY top → you know it's not going to tear and not going to shrink in the wash (26)
→ reassurance, trust "they tend to know what they're talking about" (15)

R5 Designer shops → good service (25) → you get to try things on → feel better about yourself, feel comfortable with self (32) → feel happy (33)

R5 Matching designer clothes → look good (18) → feel better → feel comfortable with self (32)

R6 Calvin Klein → people know the name and like Calvin Klein (15) → people ask you where you got it from (16) → people are impressed with you (16) → feel happy (33)

Colourful. 6

R1 Bright colours → funky → avoid boredom (16)
→ stand out more (16) → look 'cool' (19)

R5 White → look weird → look pale and ill (18) → people fuss → lack of independence (29)

R5 Blues and purples → feel bouncy (24) → and happy (33)

Loose-fitting. 7

R2 Baggy clothes → comfortable (22)

R2 Loose clothes → avoid feeling sick (22) → feel good (36)

R3 Baggy clothes → feel relaxed and airy (20)

R5 Loose clothes → comfortable (22) → good to lounge around in → feel relaxed (20)

Tight-fitting. 8

R5 Tight-fitting (Diesel) → makes you look fat (17) → feel unhappy (33)

R5 Tight-fitting → people think you look awful/fat (17) → don't 'fit in' (17) → feel embarrassed (17)

R5 Tight-fitting → feel fat (17) → feel uncomfortable (22) → feel different to everyone else (17) → don't 'fit in' (17) → feel people hate you (30) → feel sad

Casual. 9

R2 Casual clothes → avoid drawing attention to self (17) → avoid feeling that something's wrong with you (30)

R2 Jeans → comfortable (22) → feel good (32)
→ look normal, blend in with friends (17) → avoid people staring at you (17) → avoid feeling different/unhappy (30)

R2 Casual clothes → comfortable (22) → can be active (20) → enjoy yourself (37)

R3 Casual clothes → clothes that match well, look nice (18) → avoid being teased (17) → avoid feeling upset and embarrassed; avoid feeling uncomfortable and different (30)

R4 Casual clothes → clothes that match well (18) → avoid feeling you don't look right (17) → avoid feeling uncomfortable (32)

R4 Casual clothes → feel comfortable (22) → people don't stare at you (17) → avoids feeling there's something wrong with you (32)

R4 Specialist jeans store → good range of styles, shapes and sizes → good fit (22) → feel comfortable (22)

R4 Casual clothes for park → can get muddy or dirty (20) → can play games, climb trees (20) → enjoyment (37)

R5 Adidas, Gap → good for running around (20) → can roll around and do gym and back-flips (20) → allows you to practise things → you become good at things, "you have to practise sometimes, and without practising you can't do anything → can get high marks → sense of achievement (38)

R6 Jeans → can wear different colours → look a bit different "most of my friends like being the same, and I don't really like being the same" (16) → avoid people copying me, "once this girl copied me and I got in trouble for it...and it wasn't me" (16) → feel a certain individuality (35)

R6 Casual clothes → avoid drawing attention to yourself (17) → avoid feeling stupid (32)

R6 Casual clothes → can play around, do cartwheels (20) → can join in with friends (21) → not to be left out → avoid feeling bored and sad (30)

Smart. 10

R4 Smart clothes (e.g. for theatre) → you've made an effort for the occasion → feel you're wearing the right thing (17)

R6 Smart clothes (e.g. for restaurant) → if you're wearing dirty clothes people will stare (17) → feel embarrassed (17)

Subtle, neutral. 11

R2 Subtle, neutral clothes → avoid drawing attention to self (17) → avoid looking weird/like an alien (32)

R5 Neutral colours → feel 'down' and depressed (absence of 24)

R6 School uniform → told what to wear → "I don't feel like myself" → important to be yourself (35)

Quality material. 12

R3 Well-made clothes → avoids clothes not fitting (18) → avoids feeling unhappy (33)
→ buy slightly bigger size so you can grow into it → you can wear it for a long time (26)

R5 Poor quality material → lose colour and tear easily (26)

R5 Not wearing good quality clothes → doesn't fit (18) → feel abnormal, feel like you're growing too quickly (17) → feel misled → feel unhappy with self (32)

R5 Good quality clothes → important to take pride in how you look; look nice (18) → important to take pride in yourself, "It's important that you believe in yourself, and you don't have to always look like the people that walk around on cat walks...I don't care how fat or how thin I am" (34).

Availability. 13

R1 Available in lots of places → less travelling → convenient (27)
→ save money (28)

R1 Widely available items → lots of people wear them (15) → if you wear things that no-one else wears people think you're weird (17) → Feel sad, lonely (30).

APPENDIX 8

LADDERS:

SPAIN, CLOTHING [PILOT]

Individual Respondents' Ladders: Spanish Interviews, Clothing

1. For different age groups

R3 Pink clothes → for little girls, makes her think of Barbie → doesn't want to be thought of as a little girl, just a 'normal girl' (12).

2. Fashionable

R1 Modern, fashionable clothes → most of the girls in the class wear these modern clothes → *"I don't like to be the odd one out, although I don't copy what other people are wearing"* (15).

R1 Fashionable → important to wear what you like (can conflict with what your mother likes) (sense of identity) (24) → freedom, independence (26)

R1 Unfashionable clothes → *"People would definitely tease me"* (15) → I'd feel uncomfortable (not at ease with self) (28).

R1 Fashionable → get attention from other people, saying you look nice (14) → feel good about self (self esteem) (30). ✓

R2 Fashionable → important to wear clothes you like (feel comfortable) (19) → people don't laugh at you, tease you (15).

R2 Fashionable → important to wear clothes you like (feel comfortable) (19) → *"I tell my mother that I'm the one who'll be wearing it, not her"* (24) → sense of self, identity (31). ✓

R2 Fashionable → not to draw attention to self, doesn't like people commenting on clothes → 'stand in' (15).

R3 Clothes for a party → look well dressed (16) → *"If I see someone else who is wearing almost the same, I feel really happy because I know that they must like it too"* → fit in (15) → feel happy (29).

R3 Likes to wear same clothes as best friend → pretend to be sisters (18) → friendship (27).

R4 Likes modern clothes → comfortable (19) → looks good (16) → feel better, *"I feel better than if I was wearing ugly clothes"*, *"If I see someone wearing horrible clothes I feel sorry for them"* (well-being) (32)

R5 Likes modern clothes → feel fashionable (17) → sense of freedom (26).

R5 Modern, fashionable clothes → others say they like it (14) → feel good; grateful (30).

R5 Important to wear clothes that don't make you look either fat or thin (16) → so that people don't talk about you behind your back (15) → feel bad (28).

R5 Tammy, New Look - skirts, dresses; clothes for going out → more elegant (16) → important not to be too elegant, to not look like you're showing off ('stand in') (15)

R5 Tammy, New Look → more elegant (16) → feel in an active mood for the party and feel attractive (16) → so that people don't think you're badly dressed (16) → fit in (15).

3. Sportswear

R1 Tracksuits → good for playing 'hide and seek' (23) → sociability (18).

R1 Nike tick → shows it's good; differentiates it; it's part of a set (13).

R3 Tracksuits → comfortable (19) → can run around and move more freely (23) → Fun and enjoyment (33)

R4 Sportswear, Nike brand logo → people can see the Nike tick → nice design → feel you are well dressed (16) → feel satisfied with self (28).

R4 tracksuits → comfortable (19) → can move around with agility, run (23) → good for competing in sport → helps you win (sense of achievement) (34).

R5 Tennis clothes → good to run around in (23) → comfortable (19)

R5 Nike or Adidas → good quality (13) → doesn't wear out so quickly (20) → can keep clothes for quite a long time → don't waste money (22).

R5 Reebok → nice design, not so plain → people see it's good quality, *"that I didn't just buy it on the street"* (13)

R5 Reebok → comfortable (19)

R6 Sportswear, tracksuit → only for gym or park (23) → comfortable (19)

4. Colourful

R1 Bright designs → *"I know I'm wearing something I like"* (24) → feel good (28)

R2 Bright colours, but not too bright → not to be noticed too much → just fit in (15)

R3 Loves the colour blue → feel good (28)

R4 Likes bright colours, likes multi-coloured jumpers, summery colours → feel cheerful (29).

R6 Bright colours → more youthful than black which is for older people → likes to feel like a little girl (12) → feels like herself (sense of identity) (31).

5. Loose-fitting

R2 Loose fitting → comfortable (19)

R3 Baggy clothes → *"I like them because my friend likes them"* → fit in (15).

R3 Baggy clothes → comfortable and go with lots of things (19)

6. Casual

R1 Prefer wearing trousers → more comfortable (19)

R1 At home, wears track suit → comfortable (19) → feel better (32)

R2 Likes wearing trousers → can run around better (23) → comfortable (19)

R2 Casual, tracksuits, for drama classes → to move around better (23) → comfortable (19) → enjoyment (33)

R2 Casual for school → good fit, comfortable (19) → to look nice to other people (16) → self esteem (30).

R2 Everyday clothes → own choice, not mother's choice (mother chose everything up until about 10 years old) (24) → sense of identity, sense of self (31).

R3 Casual wear → it's good if things go together well (16) → feel good (28).

R3 Casual wear → goes together well (16) → consults best friend → they enjoy trying on clothes together, sociability (18) → friendship (27).

R3 Casual clothes → goes together well (16) → to avoid people laughing at me → fit in (15).

R3 Trousers → can move well in trousers (23).

R4 Normal clothes → can play, fall over, stain clothes (23) → fun (33).

R4 Trousers → wears trousers more now because she likes them → *"It's important for everyone to have their own taste"*, not just copy what other people are wearing (24) → sense of identity and self (31).

R6 Timberland, clothes to wear when going fishing etc. → her father has always liked these clothes, and she's used to wearing them → comfortable (19) and useful (trousers have lots of pockets) (21) → if no pockets, has to give things to a friend and ends up forgetting them → can be annoying

7. Smart

R1 " my mother tells me I have to look smart (guapa) at school" → look attractive (16).

R1 At a wedding or communion, have to look smart (16) → show that you're happy for other people (17).

R2 Wears smart, new clothes when goes back to Spain (16) → goes out more, with teenagers, dancing, out for walks, parties (18)

R2 Smart clothes for a wedding (16) → important to look smart/elegant (17)

R2 Smart clothes for going out to dinner → to look a bit different from normal → respect mother's wishes (17).

R4 Party: skirt with a nice jumper and leather jacket, and high heeled shoes → *"I like to feel I'm the same as other people, not inferior nor superior"* → fit in (15).

R6 Smart clothes → most important thing is for them to match/be well co-ordinated → her mother says she likes to have everything perfect (24) → to feel like herself (sense of identity) (31).

8. Subtle, neutral

R1 Beige → important to look nice to other people (17).

9. Range of clothes

R1 Wide range of clothes → many things to choose from → easier to choose; don't have to go from shop to shop (21).

R2 Range of clothes → lots of choice

R4 Range of clothes → only have to go to one shop → less tiring and quicker (21) → feel happy (want to go home and try them all on) (29).

R4 Range → can try lots of things on → feel excited (25) → happy (29).

10. Established brand

R4 Branded clothes → good quality (reassurance) (13) → would feel inferior and ashamed in poor quality clothes if friends were wearing good quality (branded clothes lead to self esteem) (30).

R5 Important to wear popular (store or manufacturer) brand (13) → so that people don't say, "*Yuk, that's disgusting!*" (15) → feel bad (28).

R5 Nice to wear popular clothes → but, "*I don't like people to wear the same as me*", don't like people copying (24).

11. Price

R4 High price → "*my mother might not buy it for me if it's too expensive*" → but high price normally means high quality (reassurance) (13) → mid-price better

APPENDIX 9

IMPLICATION MATRIX:

UK, SNACKS [PILOT]

Summary Implication Matrix: Snacks, UK

From To	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1. Shape + appearance	1.3	5.0	1.0										0.1		0.1	0.1			0.1			
2. Range of flavours.	5.0	0.1	0.1										0.1				0.1		0.1			
3. Size of pack + quantity					1.0	1.0	2.0															
4. Type/strength of flavour.		1.0			1.0	1.0	2.0															
5. Light fattening					1.1	1.0	0.1															1.0
6. Smell									2.0									0.1				
7. Nature of choc. bar	2.0	0.2			0.1					3.0		1.0			0.1				0.1			2.0
8. Sensation in mouth					1.4		1.1		3.0	4.1	1.0		1.0		0.1			0.3	0.2	0.1		
9. Pack design + format		2.0		1.0	1.0	0.1	1.1	3.0			2.1				0.1	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
10. Brand name	0.1							8.0				1.0	1.2		0.2		0.1	0.2	0.1			
11. TV advertising		1.0					0.1	1.1						1.0	0.1							
12. Price																						

Dr. Nels. on left
Indirect relationship

snacks un. conc.

(2)

only	To →	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
3. Change, variety experimentation		3.0			1.0	0.1								1.1		1.0	0.1	0.1		1.0			
4. Interesting, eye-catching	3.0				1.0	1.0		0.1	1.0		1.0			0.1		1.1	0.1			1.0			
5. Amusing																				1.0			
16. Excitement														1.0				0.1		1.0			
17. Sustained fills you up						1.0	2.0								1.0			0.1	1.1				
18. Avoid getting fed.						1.0	0.1											1.0					
19. Frugality, if m.						1.0													1.0				
20. Reassurance	1.0						2.0						2.0		3.0			1.1		0.1	1.0		
21. Long-lasting						2.0													0.1	1.0			
22. Pleasant phys. sensation						1.0									0.1				2.1	1.0	1.0		
23. Easy, convenient										1.0													
24. Feel grown up																			1.0				
25. Sociability																	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0			
26. Relaxing															1.0								

Snacks WK. cont'd. (3)

To →	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
27. Well-being																		1.0				
28. Concern for others																						
29. Friendship belonging																						
30. Self-satisfaction																						
31. Fun & enjoyment																						
32. Happiness																						
33. Social interaction																						
34. Health.																	1.0					

APPENDIX 10

**IMPLICATION MATRIX:
SPAIN, SNACKS [PILOT]**

Summary Implication Matrix: Snacks, Spain

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1. Shape + appearance of crisp.		2.0				2.0	1.0	2.1		0.1		2.0		0.1			0.3		
2. Range of flavours available (crisps).								1.0				0.1					0.1		
3. Size of pack + quantity in pack			1.0			2.0		0.1									0.2		
4. Type + strength of flavour.		1.0	2.0			2.1	3.1			0.1		1.1		0.1			0.2	0.1	
5. Nature of choc bar (ingredients, taste).			0.1			1.0	8.0	4.0	1.0	0.3	0.2	1.0		0.1		0.1	1.4		
6. Sensation in mouth.								1.0	1.0				1.0	0.1					
7. Pack design + format		3.0		0.1		2.0	1.0	2.1				1.0			1.0		0.1		0.1
8. Brand name					1.0				1.0				2.0						0.1
9. Price				2.0		0.1											0.1		
10. For adults vs. for kids		1.0																	
11. TV. Advertising																			
12. Smell																			

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
13. Change, variety experimentation								1.0				2.0					1.0		
14. Interesting, eye catching																	1.0		
15. Sustains you, fills you up																			
16. Frugality, value for money						1.0												0.1	
17. Reassurance + trust																			
18. Long-lasting				1.0			1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0		1.0		0.1	0.1	0.1	3.0	1.0	
19. Pleasant physical sensation			1.0							2.1	2.0			1.2			5.0	1.0	
20. Easy, convenient										2.0				0.1					
21. Sociability																			
22. Relaxing															1.0	1.1		1.0	
23. Gives energy															2.0				
24. Keeps you entertained/occupied																			
25. Fit in.																		4.0	

>NACKS, SPAIN, CONT.

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
26. Well-being																			
27. Help others/ concern for others.																1.0			1.0
28. Friendship + belonging																			
29. Fun + enjoyment																			
30. Happiness																			
31. Satisfied, at ease with self.																			

APPENDIX 11

IMPLICATION MATRIX: UK, CLOTHING [PILOT]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX 12

**IMPLICATION MATRIX:
SPAIN, CLOTHING [PILOT]**

Summary Implication Matrix: Clothes, Spain

From \ To	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1. For different age groups	1.0																			0.1			
2. Fashionable			2.0	3.5	4.1	1.0	1.1	3.0					1.1		0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1		
3. Sportswear		3.0			1.0		0.1	3.2	0.1		0.1	3.2					0.1					0.1	0.1
4 Colourful	1.0			1.0									1.0				1.1	1.0		0.1			
5. Loose-fitting				1.0				2.0															
6. Casual				0.1	3.1		0.1	4.2		0.1		4.0	2.0			0.1	0.1		0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	
7. Smart				1.0	4.0	1.2	0.1						1.0							0.1			
8. Subtle, neutral						1.0																	
9. Range										2.0				1.0				0.2					
10. Established brand		2.0		0.1									1.0				0.1		0.1				
11. Price		1.0																					

From 1	To →	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
12. To feel grown up / one's age																				1.0				
13. Reassurance, trust					1.0				1.0			0.1						0.1		1.0				
14. Stand out																			2.0					
15. Stand in, fit in.																		3.0	1.0					
16. Physical attractiveness					5.0	2.0	2.0										0.1	2.1	0.1	1.0		1.0		
17. Right image																1.0								
18. Sociability																	2.0							
19. Feel comfortable					1.0	2.0				1.0			2.0	1.0						0.1	0.1	1.1	1.1	0.1
20. Long-lasting												1.0												
21. Convenient																			1.0					
22. Save money																								
23. Physically active								1.0	4.0															
24. Make own choices																								
25. Excitement																1.0		1.0						
																					1.0			

10 →

From ↓

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34

26. Freedom +
independence

27. Friendship
belonging

28. Satisfied
at ease
with self.

29. Happiness

30. Self-esteem
(feel special)

31. Sense of
identity +
self

32. Well-being

33. Fun +
enjoyment

34. Sense of
achievement

APPENDIX 13

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES

GENERATED:

UK, SNACKS [PILOT]

Constructs/Attributes: Snacks, UK

All constructs/attributes elicited during interviews

Different shapes (curly, curvy, round, flat, crinkly edge etc.) 1
Size of crisp. 1
Variety of flavours. 2
Quantity in pack. 3
Colour of crisp. 1
Pattern on crisp. 1
Flavour-some, tasty. 4
Type of flavour (standard vs. unusual; cheesy, tangy, marmite, spicy, different flavours mixed together etc.). 4
Strength of flavour (spicy, Mexican etc.). 4
Strength of smell. 6
'More-ish'. 4
Caramel-chocolate combination, vs just chocolate. 7
Biscuit. 7
Size of pack. 3
Crunchy, hard. 8
Soft, melt in mouth, puffy. 8
Heroes on-pack. 9
Brands my friends like (→ sharing). 10.
Cheesy. 4
Established brand/well-known brand. 10
Pack/wrapper colour and design. 9
Sensation in mouth. 8
Pack type (tube, bag, tub etc.). 9
Thickness of crisp. 1
Crisps with 'added extras' (herbs, blobs of marmite). 1
Light/heavy. 5
Good for a diet; good for you; fattening. 5
For a tea break (Kit Kat); for in front of TV (KP nuts); for in the pub (KP nuts); out with friends, out and about (Snickers, chocolate bars). 7
Big block vs. small pieces. 7
Competitions. 9
Get things free in packets. 9
Names that say what they are (Twiglets). 10
Smooth, creamy, vs. solid. 7
Chewy. 8.
Suitable for young kids. 8
Variety of formats (e.g. Kitkat - block vs. fingers, Galaxy - with or without caramel). 7
Advertised on TV. 11
Price. 12
Sweet taste (Galaxy). 7.

'Man' bars vs. 'girlie' bars: not considered important attribute and therefore not included in discussion.

Availability (in corner shops vs. supermarkets, vs. in pubs): not seen as an issue and therefore not included in discussion.

Master Content Codes For Attributes

1. Shape and appearance of crisp
2. Range of flavours available (crisps)
3. Size of pack and quantity in pack
4. Type and strength of flavour (crisps)
5. Light vs. fattening
6. Smell
7. Nature of chocolate bar: ingredients, taste (sweet etc.)
8. Sensation in mouth
9. Pack design and format - use of heroes, promotions, competitions, colour, bag vs. tube etc.
10. Brand name: established, well-known, brands friends like, name that says what it is
11. TV advertising
12. Price

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews (Snacks)

UK.

Gives you a surprise 13
Makes a change 13
Interesting 14
Attracts your attention 14
Tempts you 14
Avoids boredom 14 (or 31)
Can recommend to others 25
Bright and cheerful 14
Amusing 15
Choice 13
Excitement 16
Satisfies hunger/sustains you 17
Avoid getting fat 18
Be frugal, save money, value for money 19
Reassurance 20
Trust and reliability 20
Long lasting 21
Pleasant physical sensation 22
Easy, convenient 23
Feel grown up 24
Play value 25
Meet others' expectations 20
Get lots of attention 25
Encourages experimentation 13
Relaxing 26
Acceptable to friends 20
Feel grown up 24

Summary Content Codes: Consequences (Snacks)

13. Change, variety and experimentation
14. Interesting, eye-catching
15. Amusing
16. Excitement
17. Sustains you/fills you up
18. Avoid getting fat
19. Frugality/value for money
20. Reassurance
21. Long-lasting
22. Pleasant physical sensation
23. Easy, convenient
24. Feel grown up
25. Sociability
26. Relaxing

Summary Content Codes: Values (Snacks)

27. Feel better/well being
28. Help others/concern for others
29. Friendships/'fitting in'; sense of belonging
30. Self-satisfaction
31. Fun and enjoyment
32. Happiness
33. Social interaction
34. Health

APPENDIX 14

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES

GENERATED:

SPAIN, SNACKS [PILOT]

TRANSCRIPT ANALYSIS
SNACKS. SPAIN, JUNE 1999

Brand set used

As for UK interviews

Constructs/Attributes

All constructs/attributes elicited during interviews

Size of crisp 1
Flavour, taste 4
Tangy 4
Spicy 4
Unusual flavour 4
Full flavour 4
Wider selection (Walkers) 2
Size of pack 3
Amount of crisps in pack 3
Melts in mouth 6
Soft 6
Hard 6
Sticks to teeth 6
Pack design 7
Offers on pack 7
Bright pack 7
Monster pictures 7
Shape of crisp 1
Sticks 1
Round crisps 1
Hoops 1
Small pieces of chocolate versus bar 5
Price 9
Chocolate, caramel and nuts combination 5
Biscuit and chocolate combination 5
Type of pack - box vs. bag 7
Chunky 5
Cheesy 4
Sweet taste 5
Walkers name 8
For adults vs. for kids 10

Master Content Codes For Attributes

1. Shape and appearance of crisp
2. Range of flavours available (crisps)
3. Size of pack and quantity in pack
4. Type and strength of flavour (crisps)
5. Nature of chocolate bar: ingredients, taste (sweet etc.)
6. Sensation in mouth
7. Pack design and format - offers on pack, bright colours and pictures; bag vs. box
8. Brand name
9. Price
10. For adults vs. for kids

All Consequences Elicited: Snacks, Spain

Lasts longer 18
Convenience 20
Keeps you occupied 24
Keeps you entertained 24
Adventure 24
Easy to eat 20
Easy to chew 20
Can take you time 22
Choice, variety 13
Stops you getting bored 24
Try new things 13
Sustains you 15
Satisfies hunger 15
Play value 24
Sociability 21
Sharing 21
Pleasurable 19
Relaxing 22
Energy giving 23
People stare at you 25
Attracts attention 14
Don't waste time 20
Appealing 14
Interesting 14
Fit in 25
Better quality, trusted 17
Saves money 16

Summary Content Codes: Consequences, Snacks, Spain

- 13. Change, variety, experimentation
- 14. Interesting, eye-catching
- 15. Sustains you, fills you up
- 16. Frugality, value for money
- 17. Reassurance and trust
- 18. Long-lasting
- 19. Pleasant physical sensation
- 20. Easy, convenient
- 21. Sociability
- 22. Relaxing
- 23. Gives energy
- 24. Keeps you entertained, occupied
- 25. 'Fit in'

Values Elicited: Snacks, Spain

- 26. Well-being
- 27. Help others, concern for others
- 28. Friendship and belonging
- 29. Fun and enjoyment
- 30. Happiness
- 31. Satisfied, at ease with oneself

APPENDIX 15

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES GENERATED: UK, CLOTHING [PILOT]

6

Constructs/Attributes
All constructs/attributes elicited during interviews (Clothing), UK

For teenagers vs. babyish. 1
Expensive 12
Jeans brands. 9
Brands with accessories (shoes, bags, jewellery). 2
Interesting designs on tops. 3
Fashionable. 3
Trendy. 3
'Girly'. 3
Sportswear. 4
Clothes with brand logos. 5
Bright colours. 6
Loose, baggy. 7
Tight. 8
Tarty, shiny, tacky. 3 (or inverse of 12)
Casual. 9
Smart. 10
Garish. 6
Subtle, neutral colours. 11
Funky. 3
Designer labels. 5
Quality material. 12
Available in lots of places. 13

1. 2. 3.

Master Content Codes For Attributes (Clothes) UK

1. For different age groups
2. Brands with accessories
3. Fashionable
4. Sportswear
5. Designer labels
6. Colourful
7. Loose-fitting
8. Tight-fitting
9. Casual
10. Smart
11. Subtle, neutral
12. Quality material
13. Availability

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews (Clothes) UK

Avoid looking babyish 14
Avoid being laughed at, picked on 17
Feel grown up 14
Choice 16 or 22
Good fit 22
Look slim 17
Reassurance and trust 15
Be different (in a way that impresses your friends) 16
Avoid being copied 16
Attract attention 16
Impress your friends, make friends jealous 16
Be liked 17
Avoid being bullied 17
Look good 18
Clothes that suit me 18
Avoid drawing attention to oneself 17
Be 'in' with the 'in crowd' 17
Be the same as others 17
Avoid being different 17
Feel 'cool', trendy 19
Feel pretty 18
Feel relaxed 20
Sociability 21
Feel carefree 20
Feel comfortable 22
Personal hygiene 23
Feel important 16
Convenient 27
Save money 28
Long-lasting 26
Receive good service 25
Avoid feeling embarrassed 17
Avoid feeling uncomfortable 17
Feel cheerful 24
Feel special 16

Summary Content Codes: Consequences (Clothes) UK

14. Feel grown up
15. Reassurance and trust
16. 'Stand out': impress your friends, feel special and important
17. 'Stand in': 'fit in' with your friends; look slim
18. Physical attractiveness
19. Right image
20. Relaxed and carefree
21. Sociability
22. Feel comfortable
23. Personal hygiene
24. Cheerful
25. Good service
26. Long-lasting
27. Convenient
28. Save money

6

All Values Elicited (Clothes), UK.

Freedom 29
Independence 29
Friendship 30
To 'fit in' - sense of belonging 30
Security 31
At ease with oneself 32
Satisfied with oneself 32
Happiness 33
To feel special 34
To feel important 34
Sense of ownership 35
Sense of identity and self 35
Well-being 36
Enjoyment 37
Sense of achievement 38

Summary Content Codes: Values (Clothes)

29. Freedom, independence
30. Friendship, 'fit in', sense of belonging
31. Security
32. Satisfied, at ease with oneself
33. Happiness
34. Self esteem - feel important, feel special
35. Sense of identity and self (and ownership)
36. Well-being
37. Enjoyment
38. Sense of achievement

APPENDIX 16

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES GENERATED: SPAIN, CLOTHING [PILOT]

PhD Transcript Analysis: Spain

Brand set used

See UK analysis.

Constructs/Attributes

All constructs/attributes elicited during interviews: clothing, Spain

Wide range of clothes (14)
For babies, kids, adults (1)
Brand logo (Nike tick) (15)
Sportswear (4)
Brands with accessories (e.g. perfumes, deodorants, hats) (2)
Jeans (9)
Loose (7) vs. tight fitting (8)
Colours (6), (11)
Flares (3)
Everyday (9) vs. going out clothes (10)
For men vs. for women
Advertising (16)
Modern (3)
Fashionable (3)
Manufacturer vs. shop brands (15)
Smart (10)
Expensive/cheap (17)
Designer label/'famous' brand (5)
Well known brand (15)
Many vs. few store locations (13)
Good quality material (12)
Patterns (6)

Some of these attributes were not discussed further as respondent felt they were not important.

Master Content Codes For Attributes (Clothes, Spain)

1. For different age groups
2. Fashionable
3. Sportswear
4. Colourful
5. Loose-fitting
6. Casual
7. Smart
8. Subtle, neutral
9. Range
10. Established brand
11. Price

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews
Clothes. Spain

Avoid looking like a little girl (12)
To still look like a little girl (12)
Not to be the 'odd one out' - fit in (15)
Not to be teased (15)
Feel comfortable (19)
Get attention from others, feel special (14)
Not to draw attention to oneself (15)
Look attractive (16)
Sociability (18)
Right image (17)
Impress others (14)
To look neither fat nor thin (16)
Physically active (23)
Reassurance and trust (13)
Long-lasting (20)
Save money (22)
To make one's own choices (24)
Excitement (25)
Convenience (21)
Useful (21)
To be different (14)

Summary Content Codes: Consequences, Clothes, Spain

12. To feel grown up/ feel one's age
13. Reassurance and trust
14. 'Stand out': impress your friends, feel special and important
15. 'Stand in': 'fit in' with your friends
16. Physical attractiveness
17. Right image
18. Sociability
19. Feel comfortable
20. Long-lasting
21. Convenient
22. Save money
23. Physically active
24. To make your own choices
25. Excitement

Values Elicited, Clothes, Spain: Summary Content Codes

26. Freedom and independence
27. Friendship, belonging
28. Satisfied, at ease with oneself
29. Happiness
30. Self-esteem - feel special
31. Sense of identity and self
32. Well-being
33. Fun and enjoyment
34. Sense of achievement

APPENDIX 17

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS:

UK, SNACKS [PILOT]

Direct + Indirect Relations: UK, Snacks

Direct	Indirect
1 → 13	1 → 13
1 → 14	1 → 27
14 → 13	14 → 27
13 → 27	1 → 31
1 → 14	1 → 13
14 → 31	1 → 25
1 → 14	1 → 28
14 → 13	14 → 25
13 → 25	14 → 28
25 → 28	13 → 28
1 → 14	1 → 13
14 → 13	1 → 27
1 → 14	1 → 31
14 → 27	2 → 16
1 → 15	2 → 25
15 → 31	2 → 29
2 → 13	13 → 25
2 → 13	13 → 29
2 → 13	16 → 29
13 → 16	2 → 14
16 → 25	2 → 31
25 → 29	5 → 17
2 → 13	5 → 19
13 → 14	18 → 19
2 → 13	6 → 30
13 → 31	7 → 31
3 → 19	7 → 14
3 → 17	7 → 14
3 → 18	7 → 17
3 → 19	13 → 17
4 → 20	

Direct + Indirect Relations - UK Snacks

Direct	Indirect
✓ 4 → 14	✓ 7 → 27
✓ 4 → 19	✓ 8 → 17
✓ 4 → 20	✓ 8 → 30
✓ 5 → 18	✓ 21 → 30
✓ 18 → 17	✓ 8 → 31
✓ 17 → 19	✓ 8 → 32
✓ 5 → 34	
✓ 5 → 17	
✓ 6 → 22	
✓ 22 → 30	
✓ 6 → 22	
✓ 7 → 22	
✓ 22 → 31	
✓ 7 → 22	
✓ 7 → 13	
✓ 13 → 14	
✓ 7 → 13	
✓ 13 → 14	
✓ 14 → 17	
✓ 7 → 34	
✓ 7 → 22	
✓ 7 → 34	
✓ 34 → 27	
✓ 7 → 24	
✓ 8 → 21	
✓ 21 → 17	
✓ 17 → 30	
✓ 8 → 21	
21 → 31	
8 → 22	

⑤ UK Snacks
Direct + Indirect Relations

Direct	Indirect
✓ $8 \rightarrow 25$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 31$
✓ $25 \rightarrow 31$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 17$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 19$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 19$
✓ $19 \rightarrow 17$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 22$
✓ $17 \rightarrow 19$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 17$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 22$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 27$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 23$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 30$
✓ $23 \rightarrow 22$	✓ $22 \rightarrow 27$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 22$	✓ $22 \rightarrow 30$
✓ $22 \rightarrow 17$	✓ $17 \rightarrow 30$
✓ $17 \rightarrow 27$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 17$
✓ $27 \rightarrow 30$	✓ $8 \rightarrow 30$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 17$	✓ $9 \rightarrow 27$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 21$	✓ $9 \rightarrow 23$
✓ $21 \rightarrow 17$	✓ $9 \rightarrow 19$
✓ $8 \rightarrow 22$	✓ $9 \rightarrow 31$
✓ $22 \rightarrow 30$	✓ $9 \rightarrow 30$
✓ $9 \rightarrow 20$	
✓ $20 \rightarrow 27$	
✓ $9 \rightarrow 14$	
✓ $14 \rightarrow 23$	
✓ $9 \rightarrow 20$	
✓ $20 \rightarrow 19$	
✓ $9 \rightarrow 16$	
✓ $16 \rightarrow 31$	
✓ $9 \rightarrow 19$	
✓ $19 \rightarrow 30$	
✓ $9 \rightarrow 23$	

UK Snacks

Direct

9 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 32
 ✓ 9 → 23
 ✓ 9 → 17
 ✓ 17 → 18
 ✓ 18 → 29
 ✓ 9 → 14
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 25
 ✓ 25 → 29
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 27
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 13
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 29
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 25
 ✓ 25 → 31
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 10 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 27
 ✓ 10 → 25
 ✓ 25 → 30
 ✓ 10 → 24
 ✓ 24 → 30
 ✓ 11 → 20
 ✓ 11 → 14
 ✓ 14 → 20
 ✓ 20 → 19
 ✓ 11 → 26
 ✓ 26 → 27

Indirect

✓ 9 → 32
 ✓ 9 → 18
 ✓ 9 → 29
 ✓ 17 → 29
 ✓ 10 → 25
 ✓ 10 → 29
 ✓ 20 → 29
 ✓ 10 → 27
 ✓ 10 → 13
 ✓ 10 → 29
 ✓ 10 → 25
 ✓ 10 → 31
 ✓ 20 → 31
 ✓ 10 → 27
 ✓ 10 → 30
 ✓ 10 → 30
 ✓ 11 → 20
 ✓ 11 → 19
 ✓ 14 → 19
 ✓ 11 → 27

APPENDIX 18

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: SPAIN, SNACKS [PILOT]

① Summary of Direct & Indirect Relation

Spam, Snack

Direct	Indirect
✓ 1 → 18	✓ 1 → 20
✓ 18 → 20	✓ 1 → 24
✓ 1 → 18	✓ 1 → 29
✓ 18 → 24	✓ 1 → 29
✓ 1 → 24	✓ 1 → 29
✓ 24 → 29	✓ 1 → 22
✓ 1 → 14	✓ 1 → 26
✓ 14 → 29	✓ 20 → 26
✓ 1 → 24	✓ 2 → 20
✓ 24 → 29	✓ 2 → 24
✓ 1 → 20	✓ 2 → 29
✓ 1 → 20	✓ 3 → 29
✓ 20 → 22	✓ 3 → 20
✓ 22 → 26	✓ 3 → 29
✓ 1 → 19	✓ 4 → 30
✓ 1 → 14	
✓ 2 → 13	
✓ 13 → 20	
✓ 2 → 13	
✓ 13 → 24	
✓ 2 → 13	
✓ 13 → 29	
✓ 2 → 20	
✓ 3 → 18	
✓ 18 → 29	
✓ 18 → 20	
✓ 3 → 15	
✓ 3 → 18	
✓ 18 → 29	
✓ 4 → 19	
✓ 19 → 20	

(2) Span, Snacks

Direct	Indirect
✓ 4 → 24	✓ 4 → 29.
✓ 24 → 29.	✓ 4 → 29
✓ 4 → 18	✓ 4 → 24
✓ 18 → 29	✓ 4 → 18
✓ 4 → 13	✓ 4 → 22
✓ 13 → 24	✓ 4 → 26.
✓ 4 → 19	✓ 19 → 22
✓ 19 → 18	✓ 19 → 26
✓ 18 → 22	✓ 18 → 26.
✓ 22 → 26	✓ 18 → 27
✓ 18 → 21	✓ 18 → 28
✓ 21 → 27	✓ 21 → 28
✓ 27 → 28	✓ 4 → 29
✓ 4 → 19	✓ 4 → 19
✓ 19 → 29.	✓ 5 → 22
✓ 4 → 18	✓ 5 → 15
✓ 18 → 19	✓ 5 → 23
✓ 4 → 15	✓ 5 → 26
✓ 5 → 20	✓ 19 → 26
✓ 20 → 22	✓ 5 → 23.
✓ 5 → 19	✓ 5 → 22
✓ 19 → 15	✓ 5 → 29
✓ 5 → 19	✓ 5 → 29.
✓ 19 → 23	
✓ 23 → 26.	
✓ 5 → 19	
✓ 19 → 23	
✓ 19 → 22.	
✓ 5 → 19	
✓ 19 → 29.	
✓ 5 → 18	
✓ 5 → 19	
✓ 19 → 29	

Text cut off in original

Direct + Indirect Relations. Spain, Snacks.

(3)

Direct

✓ 5 → 19
✓ 19 → 29.
✓ 5 → 29.
✓ 5 → 20
✓ 5 → 21
✓ 21 → 28
✓ 5 → 19
✓ 19 → 29
✓ 5 → 20
✓ 5 → 20
✓ 6 → 20
✓ 6 → 25
✓ 6 → 19
✓ 19 → 26
✓ 7 → 27
✓ 27 → 31
✓ 7 → 14
✓ 7 → 20
✓ 7 → 20
✓ 7 → 14
✓ 7 → 14
✓ 7 → 18
✓ 18 → 20
✓ 7 → 24
✓ 24 → 29.
✓ 8 → 21
✓ 21 → 31
✓ 8 → 25
✓ 8 → 25
✓ 8 → 17
✓ 9 → 16
✓ 16 → 18
✓ 10 → 20

Indirect

✓ 5 → 29.
✓ 5 → 28
✓ 5 → 29.
✓ 6 → 26
✓ 7 → 31
✓ 7 → 20
✓ 7 → 29.
✓ 8 → 31.
✓ 9 → 18
✓ 9 → 30
✓ 16 → 30

(4)

span, snack

Direct

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 16$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 14$

$\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 15$

$\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 19.$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 18$

$\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 16$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 19.$

$\checkmark 5 \rightarrow 24$

$\checkmark 5 \rightarrow 19$

$\checkmark 19 \rightarrow 22$

Indirect

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 16.$

$\checkmark 5 \rightarrow 22.$

APPENDIX 19

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: UK, CLOTHING [PILOT]

①

Direct + Indirect Relations: UK, Clothes.

Direct	Indirect
✓ 1 → 14	✓ 1 → 17
✓ 14 → 17	✓ 1 → 29
✓ 1 → 14	✓ 1 → 17
✓ 14 → 29	✓ 2 → 31
✓ 1 → 14	✓ 2 → 32
✓ 1 → 14	✓ 15 → 32
✓ 14 → 17	✓ 3 → 35
✓ 2 → 15	✓ 3 → 17
✓ 15 → 31	✓ 3 → 32
✓ 31 → 32	✓ 3 → 29
✓ 3 → 16	✓ 3 → 19
✓ 16 → 35	✓ 3 → 17
✓ 3 → 16	✓ 3 → 30
✓ 16 → 17	✓ 18 → 17
✓ 3 → 16	✓ 18 → 30
✓ 16 → 32	✓ 19 → 30
✓ 3 → 16	✓ 3 → 30
✓ 3 → 16	✓ 3 → 34
✓ 3 → 18	✓ 3 → 33
✓ 3 → 14	✓ 14 → 33
✓ 14 → 29	
✓ 3 → 17	
✓ 3 → 18	
✓ 18 → 19	
✓ 19 → 17	
✓ 17 → 30	
✓ 3 → 16	
✓ 16 → 30	
✓ 3 → 14	
✓ 14 → 34	
✓ 34 → 22	

(2)

UK ClothesDirect

$\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 19$
 $\checkmark 19 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 27$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 22$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 30.$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 22$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 32.$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 20$
 $\checkmark 20 \rightarrow 21$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 22$
 $\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 23.$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 15$
 $\checkmark 15 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 19.$
 $\checkmark 19 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 20$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 20$
 $\checkmark 20 \rightarrow 21$

Indirect

$\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 3 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 21$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 23$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 15 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 19$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 21$
 $\checkmark 4 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 20 \rightarrow 30$

(3)

UK ClothesDirect

✓ 4 → 15
 ✓ 15 → 18
 ✓ 18 → 32
 ✓ 4 → 14
 ✓ 14 → 29
 ✓ 29 → 35
 ✓ 5 → 16
 ✓ 16 → 19
 ✓ 5 → 15
 ✓ 15 → 32
 ✓ 5 → 22
 ✓ 22 → 26
 ✓ 5 → 18
 ✓ 5 → 26
 ✓ 26 → 15
 ✓ 5 → 25
 ✓ 25 → 32
 ✓ 32 → 33
 ✓ 5 → 18
 ✓ 18 → 32
 ✓ 5 → 15
 ✓ 15 → 16
 ✓ 16 → 33
 ✓ 6 → 16
 ✓ 16 → 19
 ✓ 6 → 18
 ✓ 18 → 29
 ✓ 6 → 24
 ✓ 24 → 33
 ✓ 7 → 22
 ✓ 7 → 22
 ✓ 22 → 36
 ✓ 7 → 20

Indirect

✓ 4 → 18
 ✓ 4 → 32
 ✓ 15 → 32
 ✓ 4 → 29
 ✓ 4 → 35
 ✓ 14 → 35
 ✓ 5 → 19
 ✓ 5 → 32
 ✓ 5 → 26
 ✓ 5 → 15
 ✓ 5 → 32
 ✓ 5 → 33
 ✓ 25 → 33
 ✓ 5 → 32
 ✓ 5 → 16
 ✓ 5 → 33
 ✓ 15 → 33
 ✓ 6 → 19
 ✓ 6 → 29
 ✓ 6 → 33
 ✓ 7 → 36
 ✓ 7 → 20

(4)

Direct

✓ 8 → 17
✓ 17 → 33.
✓ 8 → 17
✓ 8 → 17
✓ 17 → 22
✓ 22 → 17
✓ 17 → 30.
✓ 9 → 17
✓ 17 → 30.
✓ 9 → 22
✓ 22 → 32
✓ 9 → 17
✓ 17 → 30.
✓ 9 → 22
✓ 22 → 32
✓ 9 → 17
✓ 17 → 30.
✓ 9 → 22
✓ 22 → 20
✓ 20 → 37
✓ 9 → 18
✓ 18 → 17
✓ 17 → 30.
✓ 9 → 18
✓ 18 → 17
✓ 17 → 32.
✓ 9 → 22
✓ 22 → 17
✓ 17 → 32.
✓ 9 → 22
✓ 9 → 20
✓ 20 → 37
✓ 9 → 20
✓ 20 → 38
✓ 9 → 16
✓ 16 → 35
✓ 9 → 17

UK Clothes

Indirect

✓ 8 → 33.
✓ 8 → 22
✓ 8 → 17
✓ 8 → 30.
✓ 17 → 30
✓ 22 → 30.
✓ 9 → 30
✓ 9 → 32
✓ 9 → 30
✓ 9 → 20
✓ 9 → 37
✓ 22 → 37
✓ 9 → 17
✓ 9 → 30
✓ 18 → 30
✓ 9 → 17
✓ 9 → 32.
✓ 18 → 32.
✓ 9 → 17
✓ 9 → 32.
✓ 22 → 32.
✓ 9 → 37
✓ 9 → 38
✓ 9 → 35
✓ 9 → 32

(5)

Direct

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 20$
 $\checkmark 20 \rightarrow 21$
 $\checkmark 21 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 11 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 11 \rightarrow 35$ (lock of)
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 33$
 $\checkmark 33 \rightarrow 26$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 26$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 27$
 $\checkmark 27 \rightarrow 28$
 $\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 15$
 $\checkmark 15 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 30$

UK Clothes
 Indirect

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 21$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 20 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 11 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 33$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 26$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 26$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 12 \rightarrow 34$
 $\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 28$
 $\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 15 \rightarrow 30$

APPENDIX 20

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: SPAIN, CLOTHING [PILOT]

Spain, Cloth

①

Summary of Direct + Indirect Relations: ~~UK Stock~~

Direct	Indirect
✓ 1 → 12	✓ 2 → 26
✓ 2 → 15	✓ 2 → 28
✓ 2 → 24	✓ 2 → 30
✓ 24 → 26	✓ 2 → 15
✓ 2 → 15	✓ 2 → 24
✓ 15 → 28	✓ 2 → 31
✓ 2 → 14	✓ 19 → 31
✓ 14 → 30	✓ 2 → 15
✓ 2 → 19	✓ 2 → 29
✓ 19 → 15	✓ 16 → 29
✓ 2 → 19	✓ 2 → 27
✓ 19 → 24	✓ 2 → 16
✓ 24 → 31	✓ 2 → 32
✓ 2 → 15	✓ 19 → 32
✓ 2 → 16	✓ 2 → 26
✓ 16 → 15	✓ 2 → 30
✓ 15 → 29	✓ 2 → 15
✓ 2 → 18	✓ 2 → 28
✓ 18 → 27	✓ 16 → 28
✓ 2 → 19	✓ 2 → 15
✓ 19 → 16	
✓ 16 → 32	
✓ 2 → 17	
✓ 17 → 26	
✓ 2 → 14	
✓ 14 → 30	
✓ 2 → 16	
✓ 16 → 15	
✓ 15 → 28	
✓ 2 → 16	
✓ 16 → 15	

(2)

Liðtes, Spain -

Direct

Indirect

✓ 2 → 16
✓ 16 → 15
✓ 3 → 23
✓ 23 → 18
✓ 3 → 13
✓ 3 → 19
✓ 19 → 23
✓ 23 → 33
✓ 3 → 16
✓ 16 → 28.
✓ 3 → 19.
✓ 19 → 23
✓ 23 → 34
✓ 3 → 23
✓ 23 → 19.
✓ 3 → 13
✓ 13 → 20
✓ 20 → 22
✓ 3 → 13
✓ 3 → 19
✓ 3 → 23
✓ 23 → 19.
✓ 4 → 24
✓ 24 → 28
✓ 4 → 15
✓ 4 → 28
✓ 4 → 29
✓ 4 → 12
✓ 12 → 31.
✓ 5 → 19
✓ 5 → 15
✓ 5 → 19

✓ 2 → 15
✓ 3 → 18
✓ 3 → 23
✓ 3 → 33.
✓ 19 → 33
✓ 3 → 28
✓ 3 → 23
✓ 3 → 34
✓ 19 → 34
✓ 3 → 19
✓ 3 → 20
✓ 3 → 22
✓ 13 → 22
✓ 3 → 19.
✓ 4 → 28
✓ 4 → 31

(3) Clothes, Spain

Direct

✓ 6 → 19.
✓ 6 → 19
✓ 19 → 32.
✓ 6 → 23
✓ 23 → 19.
✓ 6 → 23
✓ 23 → 19.
✓ 19 → 33.
✓ 6 → 19
✓ 19 → 16
✓ 16 → 30.
✓ 6 → 24
✓ 24 → 31.
✓ 6 → 16
✓ 16 → 28
✓ 6 → 16
✓ 16 → 18
✓ 18 → 27
✓ 6 → 16
✓ 16 → 15
✓ 6 → 23
✓ 6 → 23
✓ 23 → 33
✓ 6 → 24
✓ 24 → 31
✓ 6 → 19
✓ 19 → 21
✓ 7 → 16
✓ 7 → 16
✓ 16 → 17
✓ 7 → 16
✓ 16 → 18

Indirect

✓ 6 → 32
✓ 6 → 19
✓ 6 → 19
✓ 6 → 33
✓ 23 → 33
✓ 6 → 16
✓ 6 → 30
✓ 19 → 30
✓ 6 → 31
✓ 6 → 28
✓ 6 → 18
✓ 6 → 27
✓ 16 → 27
✓ 6 → 15
✓ 6 → 33
✓ 6 → 31
✓ 6 → 21
✓ 7 → 17
✓ 7 → 18

Direct

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 16$

$\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 17$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 17$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 15$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 24$

$\checkmark 24 \rightarrow 31$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 17$

~~8444~~

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 21$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 21$

$\checkmark 21 \rightarrow 29$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 25$

$\checkmark 25 \rightarrow 29$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 13$

$\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 30$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 13$

$\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 15$

$\checkmark 15 \rightarrow 28$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 24$

$\checkmark 11 \rightarrow 13$

Indirect

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 17$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 31$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 29$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 29$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 30$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 15$

$\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 28$

$\checkmark 13 \rightarrow 28$

APPENDIX 21

**BRAND SETS USED IN INTERVIEWS:
SPAIN [FULL-SCALE FIELDWORK]. [UK BRAND
SETS ARE AS PER PILOT STUDY]**

Spain, January 2001
Brand Sets Used

Snacks

Matutano Doritos
Matutano Lays
Matutano Cheetos
Fritos
Bimbo Bucanero
Bimbo Pantera Rosa
Bimbo Tigreton
Bimbo Bony
Bollicao
Huesitos
Phoskitos (Panrico)
Milkibar (Nestle)
Donuts (Panrico)
Cuernos de Chocolate (Panrico)/Caracola de Chocolate
Churruca

Others elicited during interviews:

Gublins
Pajitas

Clothing

Nike
Adidas
Reebok
Calvin Klein
Levis
Naf Naf
Benetton
Zara
Don Algodón
Amichi
Timberland
Mayoral
Mango
Giorgio Armani
Lee
Wrangler
Pepe

PILOT:
Snacks & Cloth

TRANSCRIPT ANALYSIS
UK, SNACKS, APRIL-MAY 1999

Brand Set Used

Brand set used was based on research into the most popular snacks among 11-14 year olds. Relevance was checked at interviews, and any other favourites added to list.

Quavers
Wotsits
Walkers
Monster Munch
Skips
Hula Hoops
Doritos
Pringles
Twiglets
KP Nuts
Kit Kat
Mars
Snickers
Twix
Galaxy
Twirl (added)

TRANSCRIPT ANALYSIS
UK, CLOTHING, NOV. 2000

Brand Set Used

As per pilot study, April-May 1999:

Nike
Adidas
Gap
Calvin Klein
Reebok
Levis
Naff Naff
Caterpillar
Benetton
Diesel
Wrangler
Giorgio Armani
Pepe
Lee
Joe Bloggs
Tammy Girl/Etam
New Look
C & A

APPENDIX 22

LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTO LUIS VIVES IN VALENCIA

30 de Octubre, 2000

Estimado Sr./Sra. Director/Directora,

Le escribo para solicitar la posibilidad de realizar un estudio de investigación en su colegio. Me llamo Anne Dibley y trabajo como 'Teaching Fellow', en Cranfield School of Management, parte de la Universidad de Cranfield. Cranfield es un centro de estudios de post-grado, donde enseñamos programas MBA y MSC, además de ofrecer programas de marketing y negocios, para empresas.

Hace dos años que estoy haciendo mi tesis doctoral sobre el tema de las marcas de productos, y el papel que juegan en la vida de las jóvenes (en España e Inglaterra).

Es un tema muy interesante dada la presencia cada vez más fuerte de todo tipo de marcas en la sociedad de hoy. Desde el punto de vista académico, existen muchos estudios sobre el comportamiento y la motivación de los consumidores adultos, pero hay poca información sobre la de los jóvenes. Para el mundo académico sería interesante entender la importancia (o falta de importancia) de las marcas para las jóvenes. Lo que intenta hacer mi estudio es examinar la relación (si existe) entre las marcas de producto que eligen las jóvenes, y sus valores personales. El objetivo es ver si estas marcas satisfacen de algún modo los valores que tienen estas jóvenes. Estoy enfocándome en las chicas de 11-12 años, y en las marcas de ropa y de cosas para picar.

Como parte de esta tesis, me gustaría hablar con chicas españolas de esta edad, para ver su punto de vista. Estaría muy agradecida si fuera posible entrevistar a 24 de sus alumnas. Las actuaciones previstas son las siguientes:

- 24 entrevistas individuales con alumnas de 11-12 años.
- Cada entrevista duraría una hora. 12 entrevistas estarían enfocadas en la actitud de las alumnas hacia las cosas de picar, y 12 hacia las marcas de ropa. Las preguntas serían, por ejemplo:
"Cuáles son las marcas de ropa/de algo para picar que llevas/comes?"
"Cuáles son las cosas importantes cuando eliges una marca de ropa/de algo para picar?"
"Por qué son importantes esas cosas?"

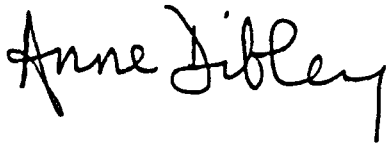
"Por qué te gusta llevar/comer esos productos?" etc.

Es decir, es un tipo de entrevista que examina en profundidad las preferencias de las chicas y sus motivaciones para comprar y/o pedir ciertas marcas de producto.

- Por supuesto, todos los datos recogidos serán tratados de forma confidencial y le entregaré una copia del estudio una vez finalizado.

Si no hay inconveniente por su parte, tengo previsto viajar a España durante el próximo mes de enero. Puede contactar en todo momento con mi colega y amigo Sr Bernard Denore (tlf.963922469) que me está ayudando a establecer estos contactos.

Le agradezco mucho su atención, y esperando sus noticias, le saludo atentamente,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Anne Dibley". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name "Anne" and last name "Dibley" clearly distinguishable.

Anne Dibley

Teaching Fellow – Cranfield School of Management

Atn. El Sr. Director
Sr. Monsonís
Instituto Luis Vives
San Pablo 4
46002 Valencia
España

15 de Diciembre, 2000

Estimado Sr. Monsonís,

Le escribo para darle información más detallada sobre el estudio de investigación que me gustaría realizar. El objetivo del estudio es más bien académico que comercial. No realizo el estudio en beneficio de ninguna empresa de marketing, sino en beneficio del conocimiento académico: espero que este estudio ayudará a aclarar la actitud de las jóvenes hacia las marcas.

Las entrevistas estarían enfocadas en la actitud de las alumnas hacia o las cosas para picar, o las marcas de ropa. Las preguntas que yo haría durante las entrevistas son las siguientes:

- 1. Te gusta ir de compras a por ropa/cosas para picar? Por qué?*
- 2. Cuántas veces al mes comes productos para picar/vas de compras a por ropa?*
- 3. Suelas ir de compras con tus padres/con tus amigas/a solas/con otra persona?*
- 4. Tienes tu propio dinero para comprar ropa/cosas para picar, o es tu madre/padre, otra persona quien la(s) compra?*
- 5. Cuáles son las marcas de ropa/cosas para picar que llevas/comes?*

Enseñaré una lista de marcas para ayudarles a las alumnas. Por ejemplo:

Cosas para picar: Doritos, Lays, Cheetos, Fritos, Bollicao.

Ropa: Nike, Adidas, Reebok, Zara, Don Algodón.

Por qué te gusta llevar/comer estos productos?

- 6. Cuáles son las cosas importantes cuando eliges una marca de ropa/cosas para picar? Por qué son importantes estas cosas?*
- 7. Es importante que comes cosas para picar/llevas ropa que son marcas bien conocidas? Por qué? Por qué no?*

8. *Es importante que a tus amigos les gusta las cosas para picar que comes/les gusta la ropa que llevas. Por qué? Por qué no?*
9. *Te gusta comprarte productos que también se compran tus amigos, o prefieres comprarte cosas diferentes a las que se compran tus amigos? Por qué?*
10. *Quienes o cuáles son las cosas que te influyen cuando eliges marcas de ropa/cosas para picar? Por ejemplo, tus padres, tus amigos, anuncios en la televisión?*
11. *Te gusta probar nuevas marcas que aparecen a la venta? Por qué? Por qué no?*
12. *Tienes permiso para elegir, tú misma, la ropa que llevas/las cosas para picar que comes? Es algo importante o no?*

Mi colega Bernard Denore me mencionó que una entrevista de una hora sería demasiado tiempo. En vista de esto, yo propongo acortar las entrevistas para que cada una dure 35 - 40 minutos. Además, aunque se harían las entrevistas en castellano, sería posible darles a las alumnas la oportunidad de practicar el inglés, si Ud. lo deseara.

Espero que esta carta ayuda a aclarar el contenido de las entrevistas propuestas, y le agradezco muchísimo su atención. Le saludo muy atentamente, y le deseo muy felices Pascuas!

Anne Dibley
Teaching Fellow, Cranfield School of Management

APPENDIX 23

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES GENERATED: UK, SNACKS

Constructs/Attributes: Snacks, UK
November 2000

Lots of different flavours. 2
Different shapes. 1
Pack format: packet versus tube. 9
Chocolate with a filling. 7
Competitions on pack. 9
Sharp taste. 4
Strong taste. 4
Sticks/chunks of chocolate versus whole bar. 7
Light versus filling. 5
Pure chocolate. 7
Brightly coloured pack. 9
Established brand name. 10
TV advertising. 11
Melt in mouth. 8
Hard chocolate - satisfying bite. 8
Soft chocolate. 8
Hand shapes. 1
Long sticks. 1
Cheaper price. 12
Dissolve in mouth. 8
Crackle in mouth. 8
Marmite flavour. 4
3D shape. 1
Crunchy. 8
Small packs. 3
Ring shapes. 1
Foil and paper wrapper. 9
Little pictures to collect on the inside of wrappers. 9
Advertising slogans. 11
Fun size bars. 3
Little sections of chocolate to break off. 7
Cheesy crisps. 4
Soft versus crunchy. 8
Strong flavours. 4
Squishy feeling (Milky Way). 8
Milky chocolate taste. 7
Non-rip wrapper (i.e. not Kit Kat wrapper). 9
Chocolate with nuts. 7

Attributes: Master Content Codes
Combined: Snacks, UK, Pilot, 1999 & Snacks, UK, 2000

1. Shape and appearance of crisp
2. Range of flavours available (crisps)
3. Size of pack and quantity in pack
4. Type and strength of flavour (crisps)
5. Light versus fattening/filling
6. Smell
7. Nature of chocolate bar: ingredients, taste (sweet etc.), small chunks, sticks, one block
8. Sensation in mouth
9. Pack design and format - use of heroes, promotions, competitions, colour, bag vs. tube etc.
10. Brand name: established, well-known, brands friends like, name that says what it is
11. TV advertising
12. Price

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews
Snacks, UK, Nov. 2000

Interesting 14
Amusing 15
Captures attention/eye-catching 14
Convenient 23
Easy 23
Feels light 28
Entertaining 15
Variety 13
Save time 27
Choice 13
Can share with friends 25
Pleasurable, instant pleasure, pleasant sensation 22
Anticipation 16
Relaxing 26
Livens you up 29
Feel comfortable 28
Relieve stress 26
Feel excited 16
Save money 19
Feel adventurous 16
Can enjoy with friends 25
Play value 25
Sociability 25
Long lasting 21
Reassuring 20
Acceptable to friends 20
Encourages experimentation 13

Summary Content Codes: Consequences
Combined: Snacks, UK, Pilot, 1999 & Snacks, UK, 2000

13. Change, variety and experimentation
14. Interesting, eye-catching
15. Amusing
16. Excitement
17. Sustains you/fills you up
18. Avoid getting fat
19. Frugality/value for money/saves money
20. Reassurance
21. Long-lasting
22. Pleasant physical sensation
23. Easy, convenient
24. Feel grown up
25. Sociability
26. Relaxing
27. Save time
28. Feel comfortable
29. Feel lively

Values Elicited During Interviews
Snacks, UK, 2000

Happiness 35
Fun 34
Satisfaction 33
Feel better, feel good, well-being 30
Need for social interaction 32
Friendship, belonging 32
Make friends happy 31

Summary Content Codes: Values
Combined: Snacks, UK, Pilot, 1999 & Snacks, UK, 2000

30. Feel better/well-being
31. Help others/concern for others/make friends happy
32. Friendship, 'fitting in', sense of belonging
33. Self-satisfaction
34. Fun and enjoyment
35. Happiness
36. Health

APPENDIX 24

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES GENERATED: SPAIN, SNACKS

Constructs/Attributes: Snacks, Spain 2001

All Constructs/Attributes Elicited During Interviews

Shape of crisp: flat, triangular, square, oval, ghost shapes, vampires, long sticks etc. 1
Different flavours: salty, vinegary, cheesy, ketchup, spicy, strong, subtle, natural, artificial etc. 4
Nature of snack: ingredients, e.g. Bollicao like a sandwich; chocolate and biscuit together (e.g. Huesitos); chocolate outside and custard inside (e.g. Cuernos de chocolate); chocolate outside and cream inside (e.g. Phoskitos); bar of chocolate (e.g. Milkibar) 7
Light, healthy vs. filling/fattening 5
Size of bag/pack 3
Pack design - animals 9
Nature of snack: two sticks/portions 7
For children - less than 14 or 15 years 11
Pack promotions - giving something away inside (e.g. Phoskitos, Pokemon promotion); collecting toys or pictures (e.g. up to 8 years). 9
Tapas: Olives, 'boquerones', anchovies, mussels, tuna, croissants, berberechos, canapes, pate, chorizo 6
Brands with many different types of snack available 2
Colour of crisps e.g. orange (Doritos) 1
Soft vs. hard and crunchy 8
Brand name 10
Savoury vs. sweet 4
Packaged snacks vs. unpackaged 6
Dried fruits and nuts, sesame seeds (e.g. pipas, churruca, quicos, cacahuetes) 6
Snacks before lunch (aperitivo, e.g. crisps) versus at tea-time (merendar, e.g. cuerno de chocolate, Phoskitos - things with biscuit, milk) 12
'Gublines' - very popular at the school - taste is strong and subtle at the same time 4

Attributes: Master Content Codes
Spain, Snacks, 2001

1. Shape and appearance of crisp
2. Range of flavours/snacks available (crisps)
3. Size of pack and quantity in pack
4. Type and strength of flavour
5. Light versus fattening/filling
6. Unpackaged/unbranded snacks
7. Nature of non crisp snack: e.g. ingredients: chocolate and biscuit, custard, cream,
2 sticks versus one portion
8. Sensation in mouth, e.g. soft versus hard and crunchy
9. Pack design and format, e.g. use of heroes, promotions, competitions, colour
10. Brand name
11. Snacks for children
12. Snacks for different times of day

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews
Snacks, Spain, 2001

Amusing 15
Entertaining 15
Eye-catching 14
Change, variety 13
Choice 13
Convenient 23
Sustains you/fills you up 17
Sociability 25
Pleasant sensation/taste 22
Feel relaxed 26
Saves money, good value for money 19
Individual pleasure 16
Avoid being fat 18
Avoid being 'picked on', teased, bullied 24
Feel comfortable 28
Feel elegant 29
Occupies hands, a distraction 27
Long-lasting 21
Feel informed 20
Trust 20
Reassurance 20

Summary Content Codes: Consequences
Snacks, Spain, 2001

13. Change, variety, choice
14. Eye-catching
15. Amusing/entertaining
16. Individual pleasure (i.e. respondent specifically mentioned that snack was enjoyed alone, or that snack was not spontaneously shared).
17. Sustains you/fills you up
18. Avoid getting fat
19. Saves money, good value for money
20. Feel informed/trust/reassurance
21. Long-lasting
22. Pleasant sensation, taste
23. Convenient
24. Avoid being 'picked on'/bullied/teased
25. Sociability
26. Feel relaxed
27. A distraction/occupies hands
28. Feel comfortable
29. Feel elegant

Wherever relevant, the same number codes are used here as were used in the UK snacks research. The following four consequences were elicited in the UK interviews, but not in these Spanish interviews: 16. Excitement; 24. Feel grown up; 27. Save time; 29. Feel lively.

The following four consequences were elicited in the Spanish interviews, but not in the UK interviews (the 'spare' numbers from the UK interviews have been allocated to these consequences): 16. Individual pleasure; 24. Avoid being 'picked on'; 27. A distraction/occupies hands; 29. Feel elegant.

Summary Content Codes: Values
Snacks, Spain, 2001

30. Feel good/well-being
31. Feel happy
32. Friendship and belonging
33. Good health
34. Fun and enjoyment

APPENDIX 25

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES GENERATED: UK, CLOTHING

Constructs/Attributes: Clothing, UK
November 2000

Well known label (Nike, Adidas, Reebok) 5
Sporty clothes 4
Smart clothes 10
New fashions/fashionable 3
Clothes with accessories 2
Bright colours 6
Joggers (Adidas) 4
Trainers 4
For girls, for kids 1
For my age 1
For teenagers 1
For parties (velvet, sparkly, dark colours) 10
Glittery 3
Good quality (M&S) 12
Casual clothes 9
Catchy logo 4
Thick, strong clothes (Calvin Klein and Levis) 12
For going walking (Calvin Klein and Levis) 12
Trendy jeans (Calvin Klein and Levis) 3
Designer clothes 5
Brand that sells other things, e.g. perfume and make up 2
Leathery jackets 10
Beige, creamy clothes 11
Good fit 7
Casual 9
Nice accessories 2
Designer sports clothes 4
Designer labels (Giorgio Armani) 5
Natural looking 11
Cool colours 11
Comfortable clothes 7
Going out clothes 10
Colourful clothes 6
Variety to choose from 13
Sports sponsors (Adidas and Nike) 4
Long-lasting 12
Calm colours (Armani) 11
Loud, pink, 'hip hop' clothes (Miss Selfridge) 6
Linen trousers - comfortable 7
Fleecy, warm clothes 7
Well-known brands 5
Designer make (Kookai) 5
Baggy clothes (Kookai) 7

Smart clothes 10

Flared jeans 3

Brand linked with popular people (Adidas - David Beckham) 4

Puffa jackets 3

Trendy clothes 3

Range of sizes (Etam) 13

Hooded jumpers (Gap) 3

Bright, nice colours (Gap) 6

Attributes: Master Content Codes
Combined: Clothing, UK, Pilot, 1999 & Clothing, UK, 2001

1. For different age groups
2. Brands with accessories
3. Fashionable
4. Sportswear
5. Designer labels
6. Colourful
7. Loose-fitting/ good fit/ comfortable
8. Tight-fitting
9. Casual
10. Smart
11. Subtle, neutral
12. Quality material
13. Availability/ wide selection

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews
Clothing, UK, Nov. 2001

Express own taste 32
Feel grown up 14
Wide choice 27
Look good 18
Be noticed 16
Be talked to 17
Feel the same as everyone else 17
Not be 'odd one out' 17
Not be ignored 17
Feel confident 29
Be similar to friends 17
Be an individual 16
Feel special 16
Feel different 16
Be comfortable 22
Feel relaxed 20
Feel part of a team 17
Be active, boisterous 30
Feel sporty 30
Not be 'bitched' about or criticised 17
Feel trusted, responsible 14
Gain friends, be popular 17
Feel smart 19
Feel carefree 20
Feel protected 31

Convenient 27
Feel posh 16
Feel grown up 14
Feel special 16
Long-lasting 26
Feel cool, trendy 19

Summary Content Codes: Consequences
Combined: Clothing, UK, Pilot, 1999 & Clothing, UK, 2001

14. Feel grown up
15. Reassurance and trust
16. 'Stand out': impress your friends, feel special and important
17. 'Stand in': fit in with your friends; look slim
18. Physical attractiveness
19. Right image
20. Relaxed and carefree
21. Sociability
22. Feel comfortable
23. Personal hygiene
24. Cheerful
25. Good service
26. Long-lasting
27. Convenient
28. Save money
29. Feel confident
30. Feel active, sporty
31. Feel protected
32. Express own taste

Values Elicited During Interviews
Clothing, UK, 2001

Be oneself 39
Be satisfied 36
Stand out 38
Belonging 34
Happiness 37
Feel comfortable with self 36
Feel proud of oneself/ good about oneself 38
Feel happy 37
Winning/ achievement 42

Summary Content Codes: Values
Combined: Clothing, UK, Pilot, 1999 & Clothing, UK, 2001

- 33. Freedom, independence
- 34. Friendship, 'fit in', sense of belonging
- 35. Security
- 36. Satisfied, at ease with oneself
- 37. Happiness
- 38. Self-esteem: feel important, feel special
- 39. Sense of identity and self (and ownership)
- 40. Well-being
- 41. Enjoyment
- 42. Sense of achievement

APPENDIX 26

ATTRIBUTES, CONSEQUENCES AND VALUES GENERATED: SPAIN, CLOTHING

Constructs/Attributes: Clothing, Spain 2001

All Constructs/Attributes Elicited During Interviews

Durable clothing 9
Fashionable 3
Clothes that only fit people with a model's body (Mango) 3
Modern 3
Well-known brand; worn by lots of people 2
Everyday clothing 7
Special clothes; going out clothes; for going out on Sundays 8
Sporty 4
Stylish; elegant; sophisticated 8
Comfortable 6
Loose fitting 6
Tight fitting
Colourful
For children vs. for older people 1
For young people (25-30yrs.) 1
Jeans 7
Good quality 9
Lots of advertising 2
Expensive vs. good value for money 11
Designer clothes 5
Feminine
Range of sizes 10
Variety of styles (Benetton) 10
Clothing that "se adapta mucho a nuestra personalidad" (Benetton): fashionable but normal 3
Hippie clothes; baggy trousers 7

Attributes: Master Content Codes
Spain, Clothing, 2001

1. For different age groups
2. Well known brand/well advertised
3. Fashionable
4. Sportswear
5. Designer labels
6. Loose-fitting/good fit/comfortable
7. Casual
8. Smart, elegant, special
9. Quality material/durable
10. Wide selection: sizes and/or styles
11. Good value for money

Other attributes mentioned but with no ladders emerging:

Colourful
Tight-fitting
Feminine

All Consequences Elicited During Interviews

To feel like a 12 year old 15
Express own taste, have own style 13
Not stand out 17
Feel good 24
Feel special 16
Be fashionable, keep up with fashions 19
Long lasting 26
Fit in 17
Stand out and impress friends 16
Be popular 21
Feel the same as others, same as friends 17
Feel attractive 18
Not be criticized 25
Feel appropriately dressed 19
To be thought well of 20
Feel modern 19
Feel comfortable 22
Not attract attention 17
Be able to move around 22
Useful 23
To stand out and show off 16
Feel proud 20
Not feel embarrassed 17
Feel elegant, well dressed 19
Feel attractive 18
Feel smart/attractive 18
Not be laughed at, teased 25
Feel grown up 14
Save money, economical 12
Convenient, saves time 27
Have clothes for different occasions 23
Feel that clothes are admired 20

Summary Content Codes: Consequences

- 12. Save money
- 13. Express own taste
- 14. Feel grown up
- 15. Feel own age
- 16. Stand out
- 17. Fit in
- 18. Physical attractiveness
- 19. Right image
- 20. Feel proud, admired
- 21. Be popular
- 22. Feel comfortable
- 23. Useful
- 24. Feel good, cheerful
- 25. Avoid being criticized, teased
- 26. Long lasting
- 27. Convenient

Summary Content Codes: Values

- 28. Happiness
- 29. Friendship, belonging, fit in
- 30. Sense of identity, self and individuality
- 31. Sense of achievement
- 32. Self-esteem, feel good about self
- 33. Freedom, independence

APPENDIX 27

LADDERS:

UK, SNACKS

Individual Respondents' Ladders: UK Interviews, Snacks
November 2000

Shape and appearance (crisps): 1

R1 Doritos 3D shapes → makes it more interesting; you would get bored with the same shape all the time (14) → feel happier (35)

R4 Monster Munch, hand shapes → looks funny (15) → captures attention, makes you buy it (14) → fun (34)

R4 Twiglets, long sticks → easier to eat, easier to bite, fits in your mouth (23) → cleaner bite

R5 3D Doritos → crunchy and airy (22) → light in my stomach (28) → I can have lots of different foods for lunch without feeling too full (28) → don't feel hungry at the end of the day → feel satisfied (33)

R5 Hula Hoop rings → like putting them on fingers, can eat them off your fingers (15) → you can do more with them, eat them bit by bit (15) → make a joke with your friends about it (25) → have fun (34)

R5 Teddy Bear shaped crisps → can eat them bit by bit (15) → eat the head first, then the body → make a joke with your friends about it (25) → have fun (34)

Range of flavours available (crisps): 2

R1 Lots of flavours available → can have different savoury tastes → more variety (13) → good because you want different things on different days → you'd get bored if you had the same thing every day (13) → *"you feel happier; you can get on with your day better."* (35)

R2 Good variety of flavours → you can try all sorts of different things (13) → find out the things you like, and then get them quickly → save time (27) → not late for your club, e.g. dance class → you don't miss anything → avoid feeling disappointed (feel better) (30)

R3 Variety of flavours → there's something for everyone → you can have what you like: lots of choice (13) → it's more fair → feel good (30)

R6 Cheesy taste → light taste, nice mixture (28) → out doing sports after school → eat them with other people (25)

Size of pack and quantity in pack: 3

R1 Packet of crisps → good because I can fit them in my bag or in my lunch-box (23) → you can eat them whenever you get hungry → convenience (23)

R2 Packet of crisps (size) → there's enough in there to share with your friends (25) → *"it makes them happy"* (31) → *"that makes me feel happy"* (35)

Type and strength of flavour (crisps): 4

R2 Sharp tastes → taste nice (22) → lots of flavouring → you know what flavour you're going to get: strong flavour → look forward to it (16) → makes the lesson go quicker → you get through the day quicker → you can go home and do whatever you want → can put my feet up and relax (26) → feel good (30)

R3 Strong flavour → *"you can really taste them straight away and tell if you actually like them"* → if you don't like them you can put the packet down; you don't have to eat the whole packet to find out whether you like them (instant pleasure) (22) → if you like the flavour: enjoyment; feel good about it (30)

R4 Strong taste (Nik Naks) → lots of flavouring on the crisp → fuller flavour → better flavour (22)

R5 Twiglets, marmite flavour → strong taste with lots of flavour → you taste lots of things that you like (22) → makes you like eating it → it livens you up a bit (29) → feel better (30)

Light versus Fattening/Filling: 5

R3 Not too filling → if you eat it before a meal, you still have space for the meal. If you eat it after a meal, you don't feel like you're going to blow up or throw up (28) → avoid feeling ill (feel good) (30)

R4 Filling → tastes better → has more flavour (22)

R6 Light chocolate → feel comfortable (28)

Smell: 6

Nature of chocolate bar: 7

R1 Chocolate with a filling → stops you getting bored: *"I get bored with the same chocolate; just chocolate"* → more interesting (14)

R2 Chocolate with a biscuit filling → tasty (22) → light snack → doesn't fill you up; leaves space for other food (28) → *"I like eating...I like the taste of the food"* → feel happy (35)

R2 Sticks of chocolate → can put one back in your bag for later (23) → don't need to buy another one → saves you time (27) → gives you time to do other things (27)

R2 Thick, filling chocolate (with caramel and nuts) → enjoyable → they have a lot more tastes, nice fillings (22) → enjoyment, satisfaction (33)

R2 Pure chocolate → not as heavy as chocolate with a filling → leaves more space for more food (28)

R2 Little chunks of chocolate → can have one or two and save it for later (23) → don't need to go back to the canteen for another one → have more time to do other things (27)

R2 Milky Bar (favourite chocolate) → eats it on her own because, *"I enjoy it more than crisps"*. (Would only give some to friends if they asked for some) (22) → enjoyment (22) → feel happy (35)

R3 Pure chocolate (Galaxy) → milky → melts when you suck it → pleasant feeling (22) → feel comfortable, *"I've got things that I like around me, and I can eat something that I actually like"* (well-being) (30)

R3 Galaxy chunks of chocolate or Twix → can share it with a friend (25) → giving someone else happiness (31) → feel satisfied, *"because although you get to eat it as well, you're giving it to someone else"* (33)

R4 Little pieces of chocolate (Galaxy) → easier to share with friends (25) → nice to do if someone hasn't got the money to buy their own chocolate → make someone happy (31) → feel happy (35)

R4 Hard chocolate → can bite into it → good if you're feeling stressed (26) → can get your anger out (26) → feel better (30)

R4 Soft chocolate → nice, pleasant feeling, e.g. on a cold day (22) → feel excited (16)

R5 Galaxy, small blocks/sections of chocolate → you can suck it and it dissolves → can put it in your bag for later if you don't have time to eat it (23) → you can eat it later when you're hungry without having to buy another chocolate bar (27) and (19)

R5 Chocolate with a filling, Lion Bar → has lots of different flavours - caramel, crispies, biscuit and chocolate → it's crunchy and hard and soft, it's chewy and it dissolves (22) → adventurous feeling (16)

R5 Maltesers, little balls → you suck it and it dissolves like little air balls → makes you feel light and airy (like on the advert), and it has a nice taste (22) → feel good (30)

R6 Chocolate with nuts → go well together (22) → tends to eat chocolate with friends (25) → *"It's better than eating on your own"* → social interaction, friendship (32)

R6 Pure chocolate → milky chocolate → nice and simple → e.g. after lunch, if you've had something already → the fact that it's pure chocolate adds more taste to the chocolate (22) → relaxing (26)

R6 Squishy, mushy filling (22) → relaxing taste (26)

Sensation in mouth: 8

R3 Soft, melt in the mouth texture → tingling sensation → pleasant (22) → feel good (30)

R5 Skips, crackles in your mouth → pleasant feeling on tongue, and I like the little noise it makes (22) → *"you eat it with your friends and you all laugh about it"* (25) → you can have a lot of fun, and it's filling at the same time (34)

R6 Soft crisps → taste lighter and more tasty (22) → feel relaxed (26)

R6 Crunchy taste → stronger taste, can taste it more → pleasant (22)

Pack design and format: 9

R1 Competition on chocolate wrapper → good because you can win great prizes like holidays for no extra charge (16) → you can have more holidays → feel relaxed (26) → have more fun (34)

R2 Bright colours on packs → *"It makes me happy"* (35)

R2 Well displayed → notice them straight away (14) → saves time (27)

R3 Pringles tube → *"It protects them, and you can keep the packet for another time"* → it stops them going off so quickly; the tubes can't burst like the bags (23) → last longer (21) → if you're having a party that goes on a long time, people can help themselves when they want → there's plenty of them, they last a long time, and it gives people something to eat

→ people feel reassured that they can go back to them when they want, and *"top themselves up"* (20)

R4 Monster Munch, colourful packs with monsters on them → the monster goes with the colour → looks nice (14)

R5 Bright colours on the packets → eye-catching, *"I saw the Quavers and they were quite bright, so I thought I might try them"* (14) → bright colors make you feel happier (35)

R6 Crisp packets → easier to carry around than the tubes → easier to pack away, convenient (23)

R6 Chocolate wrappers that don't rip (i.e. not Kit Kat wrappers) → don't rip in your lunchbox → easier (23)

Brand name: 10

R1 Walkers → mum buys this because it's easier to buy (23) → doesn't matter whether it has a well known name or not, *"if I like it then I'll take it [to school]"* → but, *"I think I would have to have something in my lunchbox that other people have"* (20) → people might laugh at you → avoid feeling upset (feel happy) (35)

R2 Well known brand name → If you like a particular brand it encourages you to try other things with the same name (13) → *"if you bought something you'd never had before and you didn't like it, it would be a waste of money"*. (19)

R4 Well known name → you know where to send it if there's something wrong with it (20) → convenience (23)

R5 Walkers → you know you don't get many in a bag → feel like you've paid for half a bag of air → don't buy this to avoid feeling disappointed (feel reassured) (20)

R6 Well known name → *"You know what they're going to taste like and that they are good quality"* → feel reassured (20)

TV Advertising: 11

R1 Doritos 3D TV advertising → *"they are trying to flick it and to crunch it really loud, and trying to throw it in the air. A woman comes in and she does lots of flips trying to catch them"* → they copy the ad., throwing crisp in air and trying to crunch it (25) → fun (34) → nice to be with your friends (32)

R5 Good to have a slogan → it gets into your head and you remember it → something to talk about with your friends, can joke about the slogans (25) → *"normally when you are eating you don't say much. But if you have a slogan then at least you can start a conversation about the slogan. Then it starts on other slogans that have been on television, and you start talking about funny adverts and stuff like that"*. → you can get up to date with what everyone likes, find out about new things → sociability/social interaction, friendship (32)

Price: 12

APPENDIX 28

**LADDERS:
SPAIN, SNACKS**

Individual Respondents' Ladders: Spanish Interviews, Snacks, 2001

Shape and appearance of crisp: 1

R1 Gublines/Grefusa → little round shapes like a flying saucer → amusing TV advert based on goblins/aliens/astronauts → amusing (15)

R6 New shapes → some people like to try things with new shapes (attracts attention); they might prefer it to other things (14)

R8 Crisps with strange shapes → amusing for her personally, doesn't comment on it with friends (15)

R10 Different shapes → shape like a cloud and little star → amusing (15) → feel good (30)

R10 Gublines, strange egg-like shape → amusing (15)

Range of flavours/snacks available (crisps): 2

R3 Brand with lots of different types of snack available → each day you might fancy something different, so it's good to have a variety of options within a brand (13)

R6 Brand with lots of flavours available, e.g. Matutano → gives you variety and choice, so you tend to buy this brand more (13) → feel good (30)

R9 Brand with lots of flavours, e.g. Lays → more variety to choose from, "cada gente tendra un gusto" (13)

Size of pack and quantity in pack: 3

R1 Small packs → can finish them all off without leaving any in packet to go dry (convenient) (23) → have to throw them away → small packet doesn't fill you up too much (sustains you) (17)

R2 Small packs → you can eat all the crisps rather than having to keep some which might go bad (convenient) (23) → feel good after eating them (30)

R4 Small packs of crisps → you can eat a packet without it spoiling your appetite for lunch/dinner → it keeps you going until meal time (17) → feel good (30)

R6 Big bags of crisps → good for parties or with lots of friends, "nos reunimos, estamos hablando y a la vez comiendo algo" (25) → feel good (30) → doesn't mind sharing crisps

with her friends if they ask, "si me piden pues les doy, no me importa, luego si les pido yo a ellas tambien me daran"

R9 Likes big bags of crisps → you get more of something you like (22) → might buy them at break-time in the morning, or when with friends in the afternoon → shares them with friends → good to share, sociable (25)

Type and strength of flavour: 4

R1 Subtle taste → not spicy → spicy food leaves an unpleasant taste in mouth (22) → might buy a packet of subtle tasting crisps from a kiosk when out and about, if a bit hungry (17) → feel good (30)

R1 Grefusa/Gublines → bacon flavour → nice taste, eats it at break time, or in the street (22) → can share (25)

R1 Papadelta → tastes of potato → nice taste (22) → feel good (30)

R2 Salty crisps → might buy these for a birthday party → children like taste, and can give them to lots of children (22) → gives children something different, more interesting (13) → feel good (30)

R2 Subtle taste → doesn't fill you up as much as a strong taste (17) → feel good (30)

R3 Cheesy taste and ketchup taste → cheese has a subtle taste, ketchup quite strong → nice taste (22) → eats them for pleasure, and to satisfy a bit of hunger⁽¹⁷⁾ → leaves a nice taste in mouth; spicy food leaves a fresh taste in mouth like a mint (22) → feel good (30) → only shares them with friends if they ask, "Yo me las compro para comermelas, pero si alguien me las pide, yo le doy" (individual pleasure) (16) → (30)

R3 Salty taste → likes the fact that it's savoury and not sweet → has savoury/salty flavours at any time of day → satisfies hunger (17) → feel relaxed (26)

R3 Taste that friends like too → good to share "Porque un dia que tenemos poquita hambre cada una, nos compramos un paquete de esto, y como nos gusta a todas, pues podemos comer todas del mismo paquete." (25) → more convenient and saves money as they don't have to buy a different packet for each person (23) (19)

R4 Ham flavoured crisps: quite strong flavour → stronger flavours fill you up more than subtle flavours (17) → feel good (30)

R4 Savoury/salty → good because doesn't fill you up as much as sweet things; just keeps you going until meal time (17) → feel good (30)

R4 Pajitas a tabasco (tabasco flavoured crisp sticks) → might eat at break time with friends → only share them if friends ask for them, "es tu comida y te la tienes que comer tu, pero si te pide no le puedes decir que no [...] si le he pedido yo una vez y me ha dado, no le voy a decir que no si ella me ha dado" (individual pleasure) (16)

R5 Papas → sometimes shares the price of a bag of crisps with a friend → you can chat to your friend and get some entertainment from this while you eat your crisps (25) → sharing can be a good way to make friends: "ves a uno que por algun caso no tiene dinero para comprar papas o lo que sea, entonces ves que tu tienes mucho dinero, pues compras mas patatas y ofreces, y dicen bueno, vale, y haces mas amigos" → good not to feel alone, to feel that, "la gente me quiere [...] no estas sola, es que yo soy hija unica y a veces paso muchas horas sola en mi casa y me aburro un monton" (friendship, belonging) (32)

R6 Subtle tastes → better because it doesn't leave much taste in your mouth or on your breath → doesn't spoil the taste of other things afterwards → feel better than if you're left with an aftertaste in your mouth (22)

R7 Salty crisps, e.g. Lays → pleasant taste (22) → feel good (30) → might eat them with friends or family → feel good (30)

R7 Crisps (papas) → good because they don't fill you up too much (17) → it's important to eat what you like, not what your friends like, "cada una tiene un gusto", but will share with other people if others want some → feel good (30)

R8 Crisps with flavour of Mexican food (Doritos) → pleasant taste (22) → doesn't eat them often; something a bit special → eats them when she's out with friends, everyone shares crisps (25) → they enjoy themselves, and sharing is a gesture of generosity (34)

R9 Prefers subtle tastes → leaves a pleasant taste in mouth unlike spicy things which don't (22) → feel good (30)

R10 Cheesy taste of Cheetos → likes it because it's strong (22) → eats them with her friends in the local bar → sociability, chatting (25), enjoyment, fun (34)

R10 Spicy tastes → she and her friends talk about the spicy tastes they like (22) → sociable experience; good if everyone likes the same things: "ha habido muchas peleas por picar" (25) → fun and enjoyment (34)

Fattening snacks: 5

R5 Bollicao → bread/'bollos' with chocolate inside. She doesn't eat them, "porque engordan, tiene colesterol, te producen granos y todo, y prefiero una ensalada" → better not to be fat, not have too much cholesterol (18) → not good to be too thin either unless you want to be a model or actress → "en la calle, cuando no conoces a una persona, te juzgan mas por el aspecto fisico, a veces se burlan de ti y te dicen pues tu estas gorda [...]"

cuando estas un poco mas rellenita que los demas y ves que todos estan muy flacos, pues te da mucho complejo y te preocupas un monton", although physical appearance isn't the most important thing (24) → not being fat for health reasons is the most important thing (33)

Unpackaged/unbranded snacks: 6

R2 Cup of hot chocolate → drinks this in the mornings → nice and milky and warming (22) → feel good (30)

R1 Dried fruits, sesame seeds (churruca, frutos secos, pipas, kikos) → good that it's not very filling (17) → takes the edge off your hunger, and has a nice taste (22)

R3 Pipas → nice because they're very salty (22), peeling them is entertaining, and they take the edge off your hunger, "asi me entretengo mientras las pelo y me quitan el hambre un poquito" (15)

R3 Tins of olives (and anchovies, mejillones, boquerones) → eat them at home when friends come over, as 'nibbles' before the evening meal, "a la vez que hablo con amigos, me entretengo comiendo. O a la vez que como, me entretengo hablando. Depende del hambre que tenga." (15) → can be sociable (25) → feel good (30)

R5 Natural foods → doesn't like artificial flavours with additives and preservatives, "no son naturales, no forman parte del producto natural" → natural foods are healthier, e.g. tomatoes have vitamins, but tomato flavouring on crisps doesn't have vitamins any more → health (33)

R5 Canapes, e.g. at a party → varied, with many flavours (13) → makes the occasion more special → feel more elegant (29)

R6 Unpackaged snacks fresh from the oven → no preservatives etc. → bad for health, "me han dicho que es malo [...] cancerigeno o algo asi" (33)

R7 Churruca → eats after lunch → satisfy hunger (17)

R8 Pipas → eats when watching TV → as a distraction when bored, to have your hands occupied (27) → feel good (30)

R9 Pipas → eats them when she goes out with friends (25), "no es tampoco que me gusten mucho, pero en cuanto te pones a comer pipas, pues, [...] no paro"; everybody eats them → eating 'pipas' is something to do when she's feeling nervous (27) → relaxing (26)

R10 Tigreton, Pantera Rosa → pleasant taste (22), and fills you up a lot (for this reason she would only eat these, say, once a week); might have one to 'merendar' (17) → feel good; satisfied: nicely full, but still ready for evening meal (30)

R10 Combination of 'bizcocho' with chocolate → more enjoyable: new product called 'Espace' - a biscuit with chocolate on top and lots of caramel in the middle (15). When you break it, the caramel stretches → laughs over it with her friends (25): "nos reimos, porque la primera vez que me lo comi, recuerdo que mis amigas me dijeron, 'ten cuidado porque te va a salir el caramelo, y yo lo parti por el medio y en seguida se me salio" fun and enjoyment (34)

R10 Churruca, pipas → eats them every day, only 10 pts. per packet, very good value (19) → they last a long time (21), and don't take away your appetite; she eats them when she feels like chewing something → it's a distraction; takes away boredom (27): fun and enjoyment (34)

→ eats them with friends, → shares them with friends (25) → feel good, strengthens friendship: "te sientes mejor porque sabes que son tus amigas, que no te van a fallar. Entonces, cuando necesites cualquier cosa, se acordaran de que aquel dia que tu les diste [pipas]..." (32)

Nature of non-crisp snack: e.g. ingredients: chocolate and biscuit, custard, cream, 2 sticks versus one portion: 7

R1 Having two portions in a packet → Can either eat the whole thing if very hungry, or share with sister or friends (23) → likes to share when she's in a good mood → if she buys a packet of kikos or gublins she shares these (25) → it's good to share with friends because then they give things to you too → then nobody can say you're mean and that you don't give anything to anyone → feel bad if people call you mean (30)

R1 White chocolate milky bar → likes the chocolatey taste (22) → eats it in the afternoon, sometimes out, sometimes at home → can put it with bread and turn it into a sandwich → feel good (30)

R2 Chocolate bars → nice sweet taste (22) → likes to eat it at tea-time (merienda) → satisfies hunger (17) → feel good (30)

R2 Two or four portions → Can keep some for the next day (23) → this means you don't have to spend more money (19) → also means you can share your snack with brothers and sisters (25) → this is good because it means they'll buy you a snack on another occasion (16) → feel good (30)

R2 Chocolate with biscuit → good because it means you don't eat so much chocolate → less harmful for teeth → means you don't have to go to the dentist which is expensive and can be painful (Health) (33)

R2 Chocolate on the outside with cream on the inside → nice combination of tastes (22) → feel good (30)

R2 Palmera de chocolate, donete → donetes are smaller; can eat if you're not very hungry → nice taste (22) → pleasure of eating them (16)

R2 Chocolate snacks → can share with friends (25) → good because then your friends will give you something back another time (16) → feel good (30)

R3 Donuts → likes them a lot because not too sweet or too savoury (22) → might buy "para almorzar o para merendar" → feel good (30)

R4 Chocolate and biscuit combined → you get a mixture of tastes which is tastier (22) → pleasant taste

R4 Sweet things → eats them for tea in the afternoon (merienda) → satisfies hunger, but doesn't spoil your appetite for your evening meal (cena) (17) → feel satisfied/good (30)

R5 Bread and chocolate together → better than just chocolate because it means you eat less chocolate → good for health (33)

R6 Combination of biscuit and chocolate → more tastes to enjoy: "me sabe mejor en la boca" (22)

R6 Yayitas (biscuits) → nice to have for breakfast because, "no te pesa mucho en el estomago", and has a nice taste (22) → feel comfortable, not too full (17)

R6 Donuts → nice taste (22) → might have a donut and glass of milk for 'merienda' → pleasure → feel good/satisfied (30)

R7 Chocolate with biscuit or Milkibar → pleasant taste (22) → likes to eat these after lunch, partly to satisfy hunger, partly for pleasure (17) → feel good (30)

R7 Donuts → for 'almuerzo' or 'merienda' → pleasant taste (22) → feel good (30)

R8 Huesitos biscuits → eats them at home with other people → eats them for the pleasure of the taste (22)

R8 Chocolate con nata → good combination of tastes (22)

R8 Four portions in a packet (Phosquitos) → can keep some for the next day (23)

R8 Donuts → eats at break time → cheapest snack they have in the bar (19)

R9 Huesitos → the chocolate leaves a nice taste (22) → pleasure (individual), enjoyment (16)

R9 Bollicao → eats it at tea-time (merienda) → feel good (30)

R9 Kit-Kat → likes the combination of chocolate and biscuit (22) → has one every day at break-time → pleasant taste → to satisfy hunger and for pleasure (17) (22)

R10 Phoskitos - milk and biscuit → likes the shape → amusing (15) → fills you up: "cuando tienes apetito, te la quita rapidamente [...] y te aguanta hasta la hora de cenar"; feel satisfied (17)

R10 Chocolate Donut → amusing shape (15) → fills you up → feel satisfied (17)

R10 Kit-Kat, combination of biscuit and chocolate (22), and the fact you get more than one stick of chocolate → doesn't take up much space; you can put it in your pocket, take it wherever you like and eat it whenever you like, i.e. very convenient (23) → feel good (30)

Sensation in mouth, e.g. soft versus hard and crunchy: 8

R4 Crunchy snacks → makes a little noise you can hear and this is entertaining → amusing (15) → might eat these alone at home, or at break time with friends

R5 Prefers hard snacks to soft ones → she likes eating, and hard things take longer to eat; (21) you can spend a long time eating, but not eat too much → eating is a pleasure (16)

R6 Huesitos → they are hard and crunchy which is nice → having to chew them is a good thing → you have them in your mouth for longer, notice the taste more (21) → feel better than if you eat something that disappears straight away (30)

R10 Likes crunchy crisps: Fritos → you can chew them better; likes the sound they make (15) → individual enjoyment (16)

Pack design and format, e.g. use of heroes, promotions, competitions, colour: 9

R2 Packs with pictures on → young children buy them because they like the pictures and free gifts (15) → feel good (30)

R6 Pantera Rosa → little children buy them because they like the pictures on the pack (entertaining) (15) → feel happy, "porque se comen su pastelito con su dibujo" (31)

Brand name: 10

R3 Brand logo → important because it informs you about what you're getting, and, e.g. any 'freebies' inside the pack → brother will buy a brand if it has a free Pokemon tazo → you know exactly what you're getting in the pack (feel informed/trust) (20) → not important whether the brand name is well known or not

R7 Well known brand → "Si es una marca que se oye mucho es porque el producto sera bueno" (20) → feel good (30)

R8 Well known brand → "me gusta mas que sea de marca" → tends to like what's inside packet more (more trust) (20)

R8 New brands → good to try them, so you're not always eating the same thing (13)

R9 Well-known brand name preferred → you know that you like well-known brands; trust (20) → wouldn't like to buy a snack that no-one had ever heard of: "ver que todos tienen lo mismo y yo distinta, pues no se que pensarian de mi" (24)

APPENDIX 29

LADDERS: UK, CLOTHING

Individual Respondents' Ladders: UK Interviews, Clothing
November 2000

For different age groups: 1

R2 For girls my age (Tammy) → we're all on the same level and like the same sort of things → have my own idea of what I like (32) → feel oneself (39)

R3 Teenage clothes → tight and not too flowery → lovely cropped, tight trousers → more grown up and wider choice (14) (27) → can find things that suit you better and that you like (18) → feel pleased/satisfied (36)

Brands with accessories: 2

R1 Accessories in Tammy → nice to have something to add on → makes you look nicer (18) → *"if you don't look nice then people don't really notice you"* (stand out) (16) → it's good to be noticed so people talk to you (belonging) (17) → feel happy to be complimented on the way you look (37)

Fashionable: 3

R1 Fashionable clothes → not too expensive → wear at friends' parties → wear them because everyone else does → feel the same as everyone else - that's good (17) → so you don't feel the 'odd one out' (17) → people might ignore you, and then you feel left out (17).

✓ R2 Fashionable → has her own idea of what's fashionable (32) → if your clothes fit nicely and you feel they look nice on you (18) → you can relax (22) → you think, *"Right, I feel ready!"* → feel organised and ready to go, *"you feel like you can do anything in your clothes"* (feel confident and comfortable with yourself) (29) → (36)

R2 Not fashionable: some things in Primark are horrible → some people insult you → people make you feel awkward (17) → *"I want to be the same but not exactly the same"* (17) → *"I don't want to be like sheep and follow everyone else"* (16) → express yourself through what you wear (32) → be similar to your friends so you don't feel you're apart from them or pushed aside by them (17) → can all laugh at the same things and talk about things together (belonging) (34)

R4 Trendy clothes → dressing up to make an effort → feel special (16) → feel proud of oneself; feel good about oneself (38) → look like everyone else → *"just so you fit, just so you don't feel awkward around people, that you are not tense and stuff like that."* (Belonging) (34).

R4 Likes her sister's blue top, with silver and 'Morgan' on it, and other clothes with loud colours → feel confident (29)

R5 Fashionable → *"I just don't like being odd, like if I was wearing a pair of red jean trousers and a black and yellow striped top then everyone would look at me. But if I am in the same fashion as everyone else, no-one would say anything really."* (Belonging) (17) → (34).

R5 *"I wear what I feel like in the morning"* → doesn't care if someone 'takes the mick' out of her: *"It's my fashion, it's what my taste is like; if I like it then I'll wear it [...] My mum always says to me, 'make your own fashion up'"* (32).

R5 People have different ideas of fashion: one girl dresses like Barbie → *"It's important to respect other people's fashions, not 'take the mick' out of what someone is wearing"* (32)

R6 Trendy, fashionable (Tammy) → *"It makes you look like a new person"* → makes you feel better, makes you feel different (16) → feel happy (37)

R2 R6 *"You want to dress up 'cool' in school; you want to get noticed really, because you are in front of all these year 11 and year 10s that pass you."* (16) → but don't want people to stare at you so much that you feel you're, *"the odd one out, like the ugly duckling"* (17)

Sportswear: 4

R1 Sporty clothes → comfortable (22) → can sit at home and not do much → feel relaxed (20)

R1 Jogging bottoms to Guides → comfortable (22) → have to run around a lot, play basketball (30) → part of a team (17) → everyone cheers you when you win → feel happy to be on a winning team (belonging) (34)

R2 Sportswear, e.g. Nike → a change from girly things, can be active and boisterous (30) → can do a lot more things in sportswear → look nice too (18) → feel active, feel I can do whatever I like, *"sometimes you can feel a bit tired and grotty if you are wearing the wrong sort of clothes"* (30)

R2 Catchy logo: Nike → *"the tick is a sort of fast thing, and it makes you feel like you can move"* → feel active and sporty (30)

R3 Designer sportswear → looks good for drama, singing and dancing on Saturday mornings (18) → feel pleased I've made an effort, feel good (38) → don't like to look

scruffy → wouldn't like to feel people are bitching about me because of the way I look (17) → would feel upset

R4 Designer sports clothes: silky tracksuit bottoms → comfortable (22) → the zip up makes it flary and natural → legs feel airy → don't have to worry about how I'm looking; helps me feel I look okay (18) → feel fine → *"it doesn't matter really what people say [...] you've got to feel comfortable in what you're wearing."* (32) → the name isn't important, so long as you feel comfortable and like what you're wearing (sense of self) (39)

R5 Nike trainers → wide choice → she's got wide feet and her sister's got narrow feet, and Nike has trainers that fit both of them: can find what you want (27) → comfortable (22) → look good (18) → important because, *"I don't want people taking the 'mick' out of me"* (17) → feel good about self (38)

R5 Nike tick → really trendy, different (19) → looks nice with jeans (18)

R5 Wearing Nike (or Kookai): well known name → feel fashionable and trendy, (19) *"I don't feel like I look a total mess"* (18) → feel good about oneself (38)

R6 New trainers → everyone says, *"oh, wow, cool!"* (19) → feel happy: happy that everybody notices that I've got new things; happy that not everybody has got the same things as me (16) → *"I feel different, so that's what makes me feel happy. I am not the same as everybody"*. Doesn't mind standing out from other people, e.g. in what she eats or wears. (16) But, she has a group of friends, all in different classes, and they're all alike in that each one is, *"the person in the class who's different. So we all hang around together, it's like we are all the same"*, though not in their clothes tastes. (17) → *"if you are with close friends, it's like, they are the same as you, and they understand how you feel"*. (34) They all accept that each person has her own opinions → feel happy (37)

R6 Nike trainers → *"they are really 'cool'", and nice and comfortable* (19) → the older girls at school tell you you look really cool, the cool people notice you (16) → feel happy → feel good about self (38)

Designer labels: 5

R3 Designer labels → the name is not important → I don't like to show off in front of other people who might not have as much money → will wear any clothes that fit well and look good (not cheap clothes) (18)

R3 Donna Karan → I love the fit and the look of it (18) → feel good that I'm wearing something nice (38) → it's respectful to look the best you can, e.g. at a wedding → if people say you look stunning (16) → feel good, feel pleased (38) → don't want to wear cheap stuff → people look at you and make nasty comments → feel fragile (a blow to confidence)

R4 Designer labels → if, e.g., she gets a new jacket, and everyone says, "*you're so lucky*", "*I feel great - it's just that feeling when you look right.*" (19) → (16) → feel good about yourself (38)

R5 Designer labels, Kookai → she and her friends have got taste and fashion sense; "*my mum says I have got taste*" (32) → feel grown up (14) → her mum can trust her to look after her little brother → feels trusted and responsible (14)

R6 Gap name on hooded jumpers → "*Hey, I've got a cool brand on me*" (19) → everybody looks at it and thinks it's cool, everyone notices you (16) → feel really happy, feel different (38)

R6 Armani → looks really 'cool'; people notice you; expensive, exclusive (19) → (16) → makes other people want to be friends with you (17) → people come up to you and want to get to know you (17)

Colourful: 6

R1 Bright colours → more interesting → like red or blue → red is a happy colour → feel happy (37)

R2 Bright colours → goes with Summer → you look nice (18) → you blend with Summery things → feel happy (37)

R6 Bright colours, Gap jumpers → all her friends have different colours → "*There are all these different children saying, 'yeah, we are cool!'*" (19) → (34)

R6 Pink → wear pink if I'm feeling really happy → people notice you (16)

R6 Green → feel smart, (18) → wearing green also makes her feel happy: "*I always used to wear green in the sunshine and I always used to have good memories*" (37)

Loose-fitting/Good fit/Comfortable: 7

R2 Fleecy jumpers → "*you can sort of cuddle up into them*" (22) → "*it's like your own personal teddy bear*" It's like curling up and getting into bed (31) → feel like a little child → think about the past → no worries, no cares (20) → feel happy (37)

R4 Fleecy jumpers → keep you warm, and have a nice feel, comfortable (22) → "*It feels snuggly, like you're in bed*", you can cuddle into your jumper → you feel safe and protected (31)

R4 Linen trousers → really comfortable and they go with anything, can wear them out at night, or during the day (22) → easy if you're in a rush (27)

Tight-fitting: 8

R3 Tight-fitting, nice fit → looks a lot more fashionable (19) → *"I like tight fits because they look good on me"* (18) → *"I like looking nice but that's not the only thing in the world [...] You don't have to look nice to make friends, do you? It's just your personality that matters, so I do want to look nice but I don't do it as my first priority. It's not my first priority in life to look nice; I've got other things that are more important"* → *feel pleased if I look nice, e.g. at someone's party* → *It's good to make an effort* → *feel good because other people have made an effort too* (38) → *would feel embarrassed if you've overdone it* → *good to be fashionable and keep up with the fashions* → *wear the same sort of things as my friends - the casual look* (17) → *"You shouldn't let your friends take over what you wear; you should wear what you feel like wearing"* (be oneself) (39)

Casual: 9

R1 Trousers → they are a lot more comfortable than skirts and you can move easily (22) → *feel comfortable* (22)

R1 Trainers → you can run in them (30) → *enjoy winning races, winning the Cup for her house* (42) → *everyone cheers* → *feel excited*

R3 Jeans, t-shirts, trainers → can mix tight jeans with a smarter top → *wearing casual clothes is relaxing* (20) → *feel more laid back (don't have to worry about spilling a drink on clothes)*

R4 Casual clothes, e.g. track-suit bottoms → most people wear them (17) → *keeps you looking nice* (18) → *people look at you and think you look nice* (16) → *"I've made an effort and it's worked, and I'm glad and proud of myself"* (38)

R5 Casual clothes → baggy; you can walk properly, and you can run around in them easily (30) → *can run fast and climb things* → *feel good* (40)

R6 Casual clothes → going for a walk in the park; don't have to show off → *feel comfortable* (22) → *wear whatever you like* (39)

Smart: 10

R1 Smart clothes → when you go to a restaurant they make you feel posh (16) → *"it just makes you feel grown up really"* (14)

R2 Velvet dress for a party → feel special, not everyday, like rich chocolate (16) → it brightens you up → feel excited → everyone wearing different things → *"I like what I wear so I just feel happy with it"* (satisfaction) (32) → (36)

R5 Smart clothes → e.g. going out to dinner with mum and dad, feel grown up (14) → act grown up, and look grown up → feel good (38)

R6 Smart clothes: school blazer → feels proud of her blazer → important to look smart in front of teachers: make people feel proud → give a good impression, create a good reputation, impress others (16) → feel proud of oneself (38)

Subtle, neutral: 11

R2 Beige, cream → silky colours, like milky chocolate, like you could eat it, → soft and silky to cuddle into (22) → feel warm and safe (31) → (35)

R4 Natural colours → feel cool (not too hot), they feel nice to have on, go with everything (22) → don't have to worry about what you're wearing (20) → good to wear things that fit well and look right (19) → feel better, feel right, don't feel ashamed (at ease with self) (36) → avoid being looked at and laughed at by other people (fit in) (34) → feel uncomfortable

Quality material: 12

R2 Good quality clothes → they don't shrink or bobble in the wash → they last a long time (26) → important because they might be your favourite clothes → like chocolate or music that you think is really nice and lasts → look nice (18) → *"I try and look nice most of the time, so I look sort of respectable and reasonable"* (38)

R2 Denim: good material → lasts a long time (26) → can wear any time, nice, casual, comfortable (22)

APPENDIX 30

LADDERS: SPAIN, CLOTHING

Individual Respondents' Ladders: Spanish Interviews, Clothing, 2001

For different age groups: 1

R3 Buys kids' clothes → wants to wear clothes appropriate to her age; not clothes that make her look younger or older (15)

R4 Likes young people's clothes (not adults' clothes): elbow length tops, 'pantalones piratas' → everyone has their own taste and style (13) → important to wear clothes you like, be an individual: "a mi eso no me gusta lo de ir todos iguales" (30).

R6 Likes wearing clothes for her own age group → doesn't want to look older than she is (15)

R7 Likes shopping for kids' clothes → doesn't want to look older than she is, "mejor estoy con mi edad" (15)

R8 Likes wearing clothes "de mi edad" → doesn't want to look older than she is (15), "si te pones de mayor se van a fijar mas en ti": doesn't want to stand out (17)

R10 Stopped wearing 'ropa infantil' (with lots of pictures on) at 8 or 9 years old → no-one else was wearing it and finally you get fed up with it → "hasta cierto punto" important to dress like your friends: "si todo el mundo no la lleva, no voy a ser yo la unica" (17)

→ but, important to be an individual: "despues te das cuenta que eres tu y si a ti te gusta, que mas da lo que piensen los demas [...]. Me gusta ser como soy, y aceptar mi edad. Y la ropa que llevo me gusta, y ya esta. Cada uno que piense lo que quiera" (13) → (30)

Well-known brand/well advertised: 2

R1 Well known brand → good brand → feel very good (24), "estas como los demas" (fitting in/belonging) (29)

R3 Nike, Adidas → brand name isn't so important to girls; boys tend to be more led by their friends, and want to copy the leader of the group → girls tend to buy things they like regardless of brand name

R3 If she likes a clothing ad., would go to the shop advertised → might be influenced by advertising if she liked the clothes being advertised

R5 Well known brand → it's good that lots of people wear it and, "te gusta comprartelo y enseñarselo a la gente" → a way of showing people that you've got enough money to buy

nice clothes, and that you've got a variety of clothes, "por no llevar siempre todo del mercadito [...] te lo compras del mercadito y dicen, no tienes dinero para comprarte algo" (feel a bit more special) (20)

→ wears clothes that she likes without worrying about what other people say, "yo voy como voy mas comoda y como creo que voy mejor, y ya esta. No miro a las demas." (13) → (30) (being an individual).

R7 Branded clothes → better quality and fashionable → likes to keep up with fashions (19) → feel good (32)

R7 Branded clothes → last longer (26)

R8 Good brands, e.g. Adidas → lots of people wear them → likes to have brands that other people have (17) - feels jealous, envious, but doesn't like to dress like her friends, so people can't say, "eres una copiona" → doesn't want to have fights with people, wants to get on with people, "porque si no, ya no tienes amigos y estas sola, mejor caer bien a la gente y no hacer nada, que no tener amigos": need for friendship and belonging (29)

R8 Reebok/Adidas - good brand → good quality, material doesn't tear (26)

R9 Well known brands, e.g. Nike → people wear them because they like to stand out: "Ropa de marca destaca mucho mas que la ropa que es mas normal, sin marcas" (16) → brands give you more prestige; if you wear branded goods people think you have lots of money (20) → girls wear branded clothes, "para gustar a los chicos" - to be popular (21) (friendship and belonging): "ha habido casos que desde los 7 anos han estado siendo asi, novietes... y los ha habido que hasta han tenido hijos [...] por las marcas [...] asi que es posible por las marcas casarse" (29)

Fashionable: 3

R1 Fashionable clothes → worn by lots of people → you know that other people like them (17) → you feel the same as other people; don't feel odd, "no te sientes rara" (Adidas) (17)

R2 Fashionable clothes → feel good (32)

R2 Fashionable clothes → has some that are the same as her best friend → good to feel the same as you friends; would also like to wear clothes that make her look like people she admires, e.g. Cristina Aguilera, Britney Spears (17) → feel good; feel good that other people think she looks nice/well dressed (20) → (32)

R2 Fashionable clothes → good to have clothes that are a bit different to her friends' too → stand out a bit (16)

R3 Fashionable clothes → feel happy (24)

→ you wear clothes similar to those of your circle of friends (17) → otherwise people make fun of you: "los de mi clase, por ejemplo, son muy criticos, ya te juzgan por como vayas, 'Pues mira esta lleva unos pantalones que no se que', y asi todo el rato. Y ya tienen para hablar de tus pantalones todo el dia" (25) → feel bad, don't want to be teased, want to fit in (17)

R3 Fashionable clothes → doesn't like her friends to copy her clothes; likes to feel more of an individual (13)

→ likes to look similar to friends but not exactly the same → "me visto con lo que quiero y ya esta [...] si te acostumbras a una cosa, entonces ya la vas llevando de seguido y ya esta": gets used to one type of clothing then always wears this. If you wear something different you feel odd (17): "es mejor ir como tu vas siempre, porque si no estas acomodada: afraid of standing out and being teased if you look different from usual (25) → (29) (need for belonging; to fit in)

R4 Fashionable → doesn't want to be identical to other people, nor to stand out too much: "ir parecido a lo que se lleva ahora, pero no tampoco ir igual que los otros" (17) → important to dress appropriately for different situations (e.g. if you go to a party where you're expected to wear a dress, then that is what you wear) (19) → feel good/feel better (32)

R4 Likes shopping at Zara → have lots of different types of clothes, for kids and for young people/teenagers. She always goes to the kids' department first, and only goes to older kids' dept. if she doesn't find anything she likes there. Likes tops with little pictures on → likes wearing things that are popular at the moment: "prefiero llevar algo que a la gente le guste y todo eso" (17) → opinion of certain people is important: sister, mother, friends (21) → would feel bad if she was wearing something that no-one else liked (wants to fit in) (29)

R8 Hates mini-skirts → "parece ir de tonta por ahi [...] es muy pija tambien": doesn't want to stand out; would feel very embarrassed wearing a mini-skirt: wants to fit in (17)

R9 Fashionable clothes, e.g. Zara → buys 'pantalones acampanados' (flares) from there, "pero no acampanados con mucha campana ni con poca": fashionable, but not 'over the top', "porque no me gusta llamar la atencion" - not stand out (17), people criticize you for being too fashionable; want to be thought well of, and fit in (25)

R10 Mango: fashionable → good because, "todo el mundo va igual que tu" - fit in (17)

R11 Vaqueros → feels more modern (19) → feel good (32)

R11 Zara → attractive, good quality clothes, worn by lots of people (17) → likes to dress normally, not attract attention, doesn't like clothes to be commented upon (fit in) (25).
Quality clothes → comfortable and durable (22), (26)

R12 'Hippie' clothes → other friends wear them too; she likes the style (17) → good to feel that friends feel she looks nice (20) → feel good (32)

Sportswear: 4

R1 Sportswear → likes the quality, and "puedes hacer lo que quieras" (22) → feel good (32)

R1 Nike, Adidas, Reebok → doesn't wear the same as her friends: might be same brand but different things (16) → important that teachers don't confuse you with another student (who might have failed a course) → important to have her own style (13) → feel good (32)

R4 Sports clothes: track suit → only wears these for doing sport: gym class → comfortable (22) → can run around and move around well → feel good (24)

R4 Sports clothes for gym class → likes to look a little bit different to other people, not identical: "me gusta llevar la ropa que yo quiera, no ser igual que las demas" (be an individual) (13) → (16) → (30)

R5 Sports clothes → nice and loose for physical education; doesn't stick to your body → comfortable for running around in (22). Not like jeans material, "es de una tela mas sencilla que te puedes mover mejor" → feel good, "yo con la ropa deportiva voy muy bien, es con lo que mejor voy" (24)

R6 Sports clothes: chandal → comfortable (22) → you can move well → feel good (24)

R6 Nike/Adidas → people/friends wear these a lot (17) → wearing them is a way of showing that you're at the same level as your friends/keeping up with your friends (belonging) (29)

R7 Chandals → comfortable for doing sport (22) → loves athletics, has won three cups for running → likes to participate, but even better to win → feels good about winning (achievement) (31)

R9 Ropa de deporte → comfortable (22) → feeling comfortable (22) is important: "me siento mas libre, con mas libertad de movimiento" (33)

→ economical (12)

→ lots of choice of different styles, always have your size (27)

R10 Ropa deportiva → comfortable (22) → can do what you like without worrying about tearing clothes: "puedes hacer lo que te apetezca. Si vas [...] muy bien vestida [...] si te haces una mancha o lo rompes, es como si se te cayera el mundo encima, aqui no. Aqui vas y si se te rompe, pues bueno, ya te compras otra cosa, pero no es muy importante" → feel good (24)

→ durable (26)


→ useful (23)

R12 Ropa deportiva for gym → comfortable, can move well (22) → feel good (24)

R12 Nike → well known → lots of people wear it so you know you're not going to stand out (17): "si la mayoria de gente lleva esto, supongo que te hace pensar que no vas a destacar tu": prefers people not to comment on her clothes (25); "hace que la gente te descrimine un poco" - need for friendship and belonging (29)

Designer labels: 5

R8 Would like to have something from e.g. Armani or Calvin Klein → clothes she's seen on catwalks look pretty, she loves long dresses → would feel she looked attractive (18) → but doesn't want to stand out, "me gusta que se fijen un poco pero no destacar": gets very nervous, embarrassed, and starts to sweat. Wants to fit in (17).

 R10 Expensive brands → para ser el centro de atencion. Mas bien para chulearse, que todo el mundo este pendiente de ellos. Y en el fondo eso es muy malo. Porque acabaran no respetando nada, siendo ellos los mejores, creyendose" To stand out and show off (16) → (20).

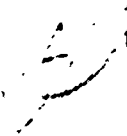
Loose-fitting/Good fit (Comfortable): 6

R1 Comfortable (22) → doesn't matter if other people don't like it: your own taste is the most important thing (13) → feel good (32)

R1 Loose fitting → not stifling → comfortable (22)

R6 Pantalones elasticos → adapts to whatever shapes your body makes → comfortable (22) → important to wear clothes that you like; have your individual style (13) → feel good (32)

R6 Normal/comfortable clothes (22) → brand not important → important not to attract attention (fit in) (17)

 R12 Comfortable clothes (22) → "si yo me encuentro comoda con una cosa, pues tampoco me importa tanto lo demas": comfort is the most important thing

Casual: 7

R2 Likes wearing normal, casual clothes → likes wearing clothes that her friends like too (17) → feels good (belonging) (29)

R3 Pantalones vaqueros → comfortable (22) → can move better

R8 Likes wearing normal clothes → doesn't want to stand out: "no ir atractiva y cosas de esas, no destacar mucho": wants to fit in (17)

→ important to wear clothes that you like, and have your own style (13) - be an individual (30)

R9 Ropa vaquera → likes "conjuntos, que llevan chaqueta, camiseta y vaqueros [...] con zapatos forrados en vaquero": likes to mix and match them; and wear them to school, or out on a Sunday: "soy muy rara [...] me gusta mucho ir diferente a los demas" (16): likes to show individuality (13): "Es como si tu misma te crearas tu ropa [...] Entonces vas mas orgullosa [...] con tu conjunto que te has inventado tu misma" (20)

R9 Likes to express individuality (13)

→

but without attracting attention (17) "me gusta ir ni muy a la moda, ni muy a lo pasado [...] cuando suelo hacer mas conjuntos tengo uno que es muy a la moda y otro que es asi mas normal, entonces vas a mitad, y entonces vas bien, no destacas mucho" → If you stand out too much, people don't treat you well: "si vas, no se, mas o menos normalita, todo el mundo te mira de otra manera. Mas bien, te tratan mejor" (25) → it's important to get along with people, "si ven que eres mas normal que muy llamativa, ni muy rara, te trataran bien y a lo mejor te podran hacer favores en un momento determinado" → If you dress strangely/badly/too fashionably, people have a bad opinion of you generally, if you dress normally, people think you are like them: "si vas normal, eres gente normal y no se hacen comentarios": need to fit in/belong: appearances can be deceptive and lead to people disliking you: need for friendship (29)

R12 Vaqueros → look nice (18) and "se adaptan a mi vida diaria" (23); comfortable (22) → feel good (24)

Smart/Elegant/Special: 8

R1 Likes wearing dresses to go out, but dresses, "que no llamen mucho la atencion" (17), prefers, "ir normalita" → if she attracted lots of attention would be very embarrassed, "con mucha verguenza", "si vas por la calle y te mira todo el mundo es muy raro" (25)

R2 Vaqueros con botas → feels more elegant; well dressed (19) → "me veo mejor": feels good about herself → feel good (32)

R2 Elegant trousers → feel comfortable (22)

R2 Likes to wear a skirt if going out for a meal → feel more comfortable because you've adapted to your surroundings (19) → not to feel odd/out of place (fit in/belonging) (17)

R3 Going out to a restaurant, wears more elegant clothes than normal → makes her feel different to normal → feels attractive (18), special, but doesn't like to attract attention; doesn't want to stand out, would make her very embarrassed (17)

R5 Clothes for going out → doesn't like very extravagant clothes, "ni muy escotados, ni muy apretados" (17) → wouldn't like to be laughed at (25) (although claims that if, "voy comoda, me da igual que se rian o que se burlen"): doesn't want to stand out, but important to have your own style:

→ "Me parece bien que cada uno tenga su estilo de ponerse la ropa y que todos vistan como prefieran" (13) : be an individual (30)

R5 Vaqueros sueltos → for going out on a Saturday or Sunday → feel that look nice (18); everyone gets more dressed up at weekends → feel good (32)

R6 Pantalones vaqueros → might wear them for going out on a Sunday → likes to feel she looks nice (18), "si vas mal te dicen que eres de un basurero": doesn't like people to think badly of her (25) → would feel bad; good to fit in with people around her (17)

R7 Clothes from Zara, for going out → prefers not to attract attention (17)
→ but if people admire her clothes she likes it (20) → important to wear the clothes that you like, have your own style (13), "lo he pensado yo, las cosas que a mi me gustan. Cada uno tiene su opinion" → wants to feel like herself, like a unique individual (30)

R8 Pantalones vaqueros → for going to a party or to the cinema with friends → feels that she looks smart (18), nice to feel that friends think she looks attractive (20) → feel good (32)

R9 Good to wear elegant clothes to a wedding → "te ves mas mayor" (14) → good to be considered older than you are because it makes you feel more adult: "vas de manera adulta y con eso se puede ir aprendiendo como el resto de los adultos. Entonces, cuando llega el momento de ser adulto, no te crees tan nino. Entonces, te vas adaptando al mundo mejor"; achievement (31)

R10 Going out clothes: "unos pantalones elasticos, un poco ajustados, una camiseta y una camisa [...] y zapatillas de deporte" → feels very comfortable (22) → doesn't want to attract attention with clothes (17)

→ but important to be an individual: "si me gusta a mi... a mi me da igual que a ellos no les guste" (13). Important to be able to choose your own clothes; wear things you like: feels "mas individual, mas libre" (30) and (33)

R10 Good to "ir bonita" → feel attractive (18) → feel happy (28)

R11 Going out clothes: trousers, "largos hasta los pies, y negros y anchitos" → likes people to think she looks nice (18),
→ but prefers not to stand out (17), prefers to be, "normal y corriente"

R12 Sophisticated clothes for going out → good to wear fashionable clothes, e.g. "pantalones acampanados" → you know people like and wear these clothes, so you don't stand out: need to fit in (17)

Quality material: 9

R2 Good quality → lasts longer (26) → you don't spend so much money (12)

R10 Quality material → lasts longer (26)

Wide selection: sizes and/or styles: 10

R10 Benetton: wide variety: jogging pants and evening dresses → "es una ventaja, porque puedes comprar en una misma tienda cosas muy diferentes.", convenient, saves time (27).

Good value for money: 11

R10 Cheap clothes → you can buy more variety of clothes → buy clothes for different occasions (23)

APPENDIX 31

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: UK, SNACKS

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①

NOV. 2000

Direct & Indirect Relations: UK, Snacks.

Direct	Indirect
1 → 14	1 → 35
14 → 35	1 → 14
1 → 15	1 → 34
15 → 14	15 → 34
14 → 34	1 → 28
1 → 23	1 → 33
1 → 22	22 → 33
22 → 28	1 → 25
28 → 33	1 → 34
1 → 15	15 → 34
15 → 25	1 → 25
25 → 34	1 → 34
1 → 15	15 → 34
15 → 25	2 → 35
25 → 34	
2 → 13	
13 → 35	
2 → 13	
13 → 22	

(2)

Nov. 2000

Direct + Indirect Rels.: UK, Snacks.

Direct	Indirect
27 → 30	2 → 27
2 → 13	2 → 30
13 → 30	13 → 30
2 → 28	2 → 30
28 → 25	2 → 25
3 → 23	3 → 31
3 → 25	3 → 35
25 → 31	25 → 35
31 → 35	22 → 26
4 → 22	4 → 16
22 → 16	4 → 26
16 → 26	4 → 30
26 → 30	22 → 30
4 → 22	16 → 30
22 → 30	4 → 30
4 → 22	4 → 29
2 → 22	4 → 30
22 → 29	22 → 30
29 → 30	

(3)

Nov. 2000

Direct + Indirect Relations: UK, Snacks

Direct	Indirect
5 → 28	5 → 30
28 → 30	7 → 28
5 → 22	7 → 35
5 → 28	22 → 35
7 → 14	7 → 27
7 → 22	7 → 33
22 → 28	7 → 27
28 → 35	7 → 35
7 → 23	7 → 30
23 → 27	
7 → 22	
22 → 33	
7 → 28	
7 → 23	
23 → 27	
7 → 22	
22 → 35	
7 → 22	
22 → 30	

(4) Nov. 2000
 Direct + Indirect Rel. 1 Snacks, UK.

Direct	Indirect
7 → 25	7 → 31
25 → 31	7 → 33
31 → 33	25 → 33
7 → 25	7 → 31
25 → 31	7 → 35
31 → 35	25 → 35
7 → 26	7 → 30
26 → 30	7 → 16
7 → 22	7 → 27
22 → 16	7 → 19
7 → 23	7 → 16
23 → 27	7 → 30
23 → 19	7 → 25
7 → 22	7 → 36
22 → 16	22 → 36
7 → 22	
22 → 30	
7 → 22	
22 → 25	
25 → 26	

(5)

Nov. 2000

Direct + Indirect Relations: Snacks, UK.

Direct

Indirect

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 22$

$\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 22$

$\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 22$

$\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 30$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 22$

$\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 25$

$\checkmark 25 \rightarrow 34$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 22$

$\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 22$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 16$

$\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 26 \rightarrow 34$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 35$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 14$

$\checkmark 14 \rightarrow 27$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 23$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 7 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 30$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 25$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 34$

$\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 34$

$\checkmark 8 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 26$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 34$

$\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 34$

$\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 27$

NOV. 2000

(6)

Direct + Indirect Rels. : Snacks, UK.

Direct	Indirect
✓ 21 → 20	9 → 21
9 → 14	9 → 20
✓ 9 → 14	23 → 20
14 → 35	9 → 35
9 → 23	10 → 20
9 → 23	10 → 35
10 → 23	23 → 35
23 → 20	10 → 19
20 → 35	10 → 23
10 → 13	11 → 34
13 → 19	11 → 36
10 → 20	25 → 36
20 → 23	11 → 36
10 → 20	
10 → 20	
11 → 25	
25 → 34	
34 → 36	
11 → 25	
25 → 36	

15/11

APPENDIX 32

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: SPAIN, SNACKS

Direct + Indirect^① Relations, Snacks, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
✓ 1 → 15	✓ 1 → 30
✓ 1 → 14	2 → 30
✓ 1 → 15	3 → 17
✓ 1 → 15	3 → 30
✓ 15 → 30	3 → 30
✓ 1 → 15	3 → 30
✓ 2 → 13	✓ 3 → 25
✓ 2 → 13	✓ 4 → 17
✓ 13 → 30	✓ 4 → 30
✓ 2 → 13	22 → 30
✓ 3 → 23	4 → 25
23 → 17	4 → 30
✓ 3 → 23	4 → 13
23 → 30	✓ 4 → 30
✓ 3 → 17	22 → 30
✓ 17 → 30	4 → 30
✓ 3 → 25	
✓ 25 → 30	
✓ 3 → 22	
✓ 22 → 25	
4 → 22	
22 → 17	
17 → 30	
4 → 22	
22 → 25	
✓ 4 → 22	
✓ 22 → 30	
✓ 4 → 22	
22 → 13	
✓ 13 → 30	
✓ 4 → 17	
17 → 30	

Direct + Indirect Relations (2) Snacks, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
✓ 4 → 22	4 → 16
✓ 22 → 16 30	✓ 4 → 30
16 → 30	4 → 30
30 → 16	✓ 22 → 16
✓ 16 → 30	✓ 22 → 30
4 → 17	✓ 4 → 26
✓ 17 → 26	✓ 4 → 23
✓ 4 → 25	4 → 19
✓ 25 → 23	4 → 30
✓ 25 → 19	✓ 4 → 30
4 → 17	4 → 32
✓ 17 → 30	4 → 30
4 → 17	4 → 30
✓ 17 → 30	4 → 25
✓ 4 → 16	✓ 4 → 34
✓ 4 → 25	✓ 22 → 34
25 → 32	4 → 30
✓ 4 → 22	4 → 25
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 4 → 34
✓ 22 → 30	22 → 34
4 → 17	4 → 25
✓ 17 → 30	4 → 34
✓ 4 → 22	22 → 34
✓ 22 → 25	5 → 24
25 → 34	5 → 33
✓ 4 → 22	18 → 33
22 → 30	
✓ 4 → 22	
✓ 22 → 25	
25 → 34	
✓ 4 → 22	
✓ 22 → 25	

Direct + Indirect (3) Relations: Snacks, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
25 → 34	✓ 6 → 30
5 → 18	6 → 22
18 → 24	6 → 15
24 → 33	6 → 25
6 → 22	6 → 30
22 → 30	✓ 15 → 30
6 → 17	6 → 29
17 → 22	6 → 30
6 → 22	25 → 26
22 → 15	6 → 27
6 → 15	✓ 6 → 26
15 → 25	6 → 17
✓ 25 → 30	6 → 30
6 → 33	✓ 22 → 30
6 → 13	6 → 25
13 → 29	6 → 34
6 → 33	15 → 34
6 → 17	✓ 6 → 21
6 → 27	6 → 27
27 → 30	6 → 34
6 → 25	✓ 19 → 27
25 → 27	✓ 19 → 34
27 → 26	✓ 21 → 34
6 → 22	✓ 6 → 32
22 → 17	✓ 7 → 25
✓ 17 → 30	7 → 30
6 → 15	✓ 23 → 30
15 → 25	
25 → 34	
6 → 19	
19 → 21	
21 → 27	

Direct + Ind. (4) Rels. Snacks, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
27 → 34	7 → 30
6 → 25	7 → 17
25 → 32	7 → 30
7 → 23	22 → 30
23 → 25	7 → 19
25 → 30	7 → 25
7 → 22	7 → 16
22 → 30	7 → 30
7 → 22	23 → 25
22 → 17	23 → 16
17 → 30	23 → 30
7 → 23	19 → 16
23 → 19	19 → 30
19 → 25	25 → 30
25 → 16	7 → 30
16 → 30	7 → 16
7 → 33	7 → 16
7 → 22	7 → 30
22 → 30	25 → 30
7 → 22	7 → 30
22 → 16	7 → 30
7 → 25	
25 → 16	
16 → 30	
7 → 22	
22 → 30	
7 → 22	
7 → 17	
17 → 30	
7 → 30	
7 → 33	

Direct + Indirect (S) Rel. Snacks, Spain, 2001.

Direct	Indirect
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 17
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 30
22 → 17	✓ 7 → 17
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 30
22 → 30	✓ 22 → 30
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 30
22 → 17	✓ 7 → 16
✓ 17 → 30	✓ 7 → 17
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 17
22 → 30	✓ 7 → 17
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 23
7 → 22	✓ 7 → 30
7 → 23	✓ 22 → 30
7 → 19	✓ 8 → 16
7 → 22	✓ 8 → 30
22 → 16	✓ 8 → 16
7 → 30	
7 → 22	
22 → 17	
7 → 15	
15 → 17	
7 → 15	
15 → 17	
7 → 22	
22 → 23	
✓ 23 → 30	
8 → 15	
8 → 21	
21 → 16	
8 → 21	
21 → 30	
8 → 15	

Direct + Ind. Rel. (6) Snacks, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
15 \rightarrow 16	✓ 9 \rightarrow 30
9 \rightarrow 15	✓ 9 \rightarrow 31
15 \rightarrow 30	✓ 10 \rightarrow 30
9 \rightarrow 15	✓ 10 \rightarrow 24
15 \rightarrow 31	
10 \rightarrow 20	
10 \rightarrow 20	
20 \rightarrow 30	
10 \rightarrow 20	
10 \rightarrow 13	
10 \rightarrow 20	
20 \rightarrow 24	

APPENDIX 33

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: UK, CLOTHING

①

NOV. 2000Direct + Indirect Relations: UK, ~~Swedish~~ Clothing

Direct	Indirect
1 → 32	1 → 39
32 → 39	1 → 18
1 → 14	1 → 36
1 → 27	14 → 36
14 → 18	27 → 36
27 → 18	2 → 16
18 → 36	2 → 17
2 → 18	2 → 37
18 → 16	18 → 17
16 → 17	18 → 37
17 → 37	16 → 18 37
3 → 17	3 → 18
3 → 32	3 → 22
32 → 18	3 → 29
18 → 22	3 → 36
22 → 29	32 → 22
29 → 36	32 → 29
3 → 17	32 → 36

(2)

Nov. 2000Direct + Indirect Relations : UK, Clothing

Direct	Indirect
17 → 16	18 → 29
16 → 32	18 → 36
32 → 17	22 → 36
17 → 34	3 → 16
3 → 32 16	3 → 32
16 → 38	3 → 17
38 → 34	3 → 34
3 → 29	17 → 32
3 → 17	17 → 34
17 → 34	16 → 17
3 → 32	16 → 34
3 → 32	32 → 34
3 → 16	3 → 38
16 → 37	3 → 34
3 → 16	16 → 34
16 → 17	3 → 37
4 → 22	3 → 17
22 → 20	4 → 20
4 → 27	

(3)

Direct + Indirect Relations : UK, Clothing

Direct	Indirect
✓ 22 → 30	✓ 4 → 30
✓ 30 → 17	✓ 4 → 17
17 → 34	✓ 4 → 34
✓ 4 → 30	✓ 22 → 17
✓ 30 → 18	✓ 22 → 34
✓ 18 → 30	✓ 30 → 34
✓ 4 → 30	✓ 4 → 18
✓ 4 → 18	✓ 4 → 30
✓ 18 → 38	✓ 4 → 38
✓ 38 → 17	✓ 4 → 17
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 18 → 17
✓ 22 → 18	✓ 4 → 18
✓ 18 → 32	✓ 4 → 32
32 → 39	✓ 4 → 39
✓ 4 → 27	✓ 22 → 32
✓ 27 → 22	✓ 22 → 39
✓ 22 → 18	✓ 18 → 39
✓ 18 → 17	✓ 4 → 22
✓ 17 → 28	✓ 4 → 18

④

Direct + Indirect Relations: UK, Clothing

Direct	Indirect
✓4 → 19	✓4 → 17
✓19 → 18	✓4 → 38
✓4 → 19	✓27 → 18
✓19 → 18	✓27 → 17
✓18 → 38	✓27 → 38
✓4 → 19	✓22 → 17
✓19 → 16	✓22 → 38
✓16 → 17	✓18 → 38
17 → 34	✓4 → 18
✓34 → 37	✓4 → 18
✓4 → 19	✓4 → 38
✓19 → 16	✓19 → 38
16 → 38	✓4 → 16
	✓4 → 17
	✓4 → 34
	✓4 → 37
	✓19 → 17
	✓19 → 34
	✓19 → 22

⑤

Direct + Indirect Relations: UK Clothing

Direct	Indirect
✓5 → 18	✓16 → 34
✓5 → 18	✓16 → 37
✓18 → 38	✓17 → 37
✓38 → 16	✓4 → 16
16 → 38	✓4 → 38
✓5 → 19	✓19 → 38
✓19 → 16	✓5 → 38
16 → 38	✓5 → 16
✓5 → 32	18 → 16
✓32 → 14	✓18 → 38
✓5 → 19	✓5 → 16
✓19 → 16	✓5 → 38
16 → 38	✓19 → 38
✓5 → 19	✓5 → 14
✓19 → 16	✓5 → 16
16 → 17	✓5 → 38
	✓19 → 38
	✓5 → 16
	✓5 → 17
	✓19 → 17

(6)

Direct + Indirect Relations: UK, Clothing

Direct	Indirect
✓6 → 37	✓6 → 37
✓6 → 18	✓6 → 34
✓18 → 37	✓6 → 37
✓6 → 19	✓7 → 31
✓19 → 34	✓7 → 20
✓6 → 16	✓7 → 37
✓6 → 18	✓22 → 20
✓18 → 37	✓22 → 37
✓7 → 22	✓31 → 37
✓22 → 31	✓7 → 31
✓31 → 20	✓7 → 27
✓20 → 37	✓8 → 18
✓7 → 22	✓8 → 38
✓22 → 31	✓8 → 17
✓7 → 22	✓8 → 35 39
✓22 → 27	✓19 → 38
✓8 → 19	✓19 → 17
✓19 → 18	✓19 → 35 39
✓18 → 38	✓18 → 17

(7)

Direct & Indirect Relations : UK, Clothing

Direct

$\checkmark 38 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow \cancel{35} 39$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 22$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 30 \rightarrow 42$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 20$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 17$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 18$
 $18 \rightarrow 16$
 $16 \rightarrow 38$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 30$
 $\checkmark 30 \rightarrow 40$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 22$
 $\checkmark 22 \rightarrow 39$
 $\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 14$
 $\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 16$
 $16 \rightarrow 32$
 $\checkmark 20 \rightarrow 31$

Indirect

$\checkmark 18 \rightarrow \cancel{35} 39$
 $\checkmark 38 \rightarrow \cancel{35} 39$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 42$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 18$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 38$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 16$
 $\checkmark 17 \rightarrow 38$
 $\checkmark 18 \rightarrow 38$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 40$
 $\checkmark 9 \rightarrow 39$
 $\checkmark 10 \rightarrow 14$
 $\checkmark 16 \rightarrow 36$

(8)

Direct + Indirect Relations : UK: Clothing

Direct	Indirect
✓10 → 14	✓10 → 38
✓14 → 38	✓10 → 38
✓10 → 16	✓11 → 31
✓16 → 38	✓11 → 35
✓11 → 22	✓22 → 35
✓22 → 31	✓11 → 20
✓31 → 35	✓11 → 19
✓11 → 22	✓11 → 36
✓22 → 20	✓11 → 34
✓20 → 19	✓22 → 19
✓19 → 36	✓22 → 36
✓36 → 34	✓22 → 34
✓12 → 26	✓20 → 36
✓26 → 18	✓20 → 34
✓18 → 38	✓19 → 34
✓12 → 26	✓12 → 18
✓26 → 22	✓12 → 38
	✓26 → 38
	✓12 → 22

APPENDIX 34

SUMMARY OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN ELEMENTS: SPAIN, CLOTHING

(1)

Direct and Indirect Relations, Clothing, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
✓ 1 → 15	✓ 1 → 30
✓ 1 → 13	✓ 1 → 17
✓ 13 → 30	✓ 1 → 30
✓ 1 → 15	✓ 2 → 29
✓ 1 → 15	✓ 2 → 30
✓ 1 → 15	✓ 2 → 32
✓ 15 → 17	✓ 2 → 29
✓ 1 → 17	✓ 2 → 20
✓ 1 → 13	✓ 2 → 21
✓ 13 → 30	✓ 2 → 29
✓ 2 → 24	✓ 16 → 21
✓ 24 → 29	✓ 16 → 29
✓ 2 → 20	✓ 20 → 29
✓ 2 → 13	✓ 3 → 20
✓ 13 → 30	✓ 3 → 32
✓ 2 → 19	✓ 17 → 32
✓ 19 → 32	
✓ 2 → 26	
✓ 2 → 17	
✓ 17 → 29	
✓ 2 → 26	
✓ 2 → 16	
✓ 16 → 20	
✓ 20 → 21	
✓ 21 → 29	
✓ 3 → 17	
✓ 3 → 32	
✓ 3 → 17	
✓ 17 → 20	
✓ 20 → 32	
✓ 3 → 16	

Direct & Indirect (2) Relations, Clothing, Spain, 2001

Direct	Indirect
✓ 3 → 24	✓ 3 → 25
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 3 → 25
✓ 17 → 25	✓ 3 → 29
✓ 3 → 13	✓ 17 → 29
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 3 → 19
✓ 17 → 25	✓ 3 → 32
✓ 25 → 29	✓ 17 → 32
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 3 → 21
✓ 17 → 19	✓ 3 → 29
✓ 19 → 32	✓ 17 → 29
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 3 → 25
✓ 17 → 21	✓ 3 → 32
✓ 21 → 29	✓ 3 → 25
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 3 → 20
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 3 → 32
✓ 17 → 25	✓ 17 → 32
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 4 → 32
✓ 3 → 19	✓ 4 → 13
✓ 19 → 32	✓ 4 → 32
✓ 3 → 17	✓ 16 → 32
✓ 17 → 25	✓ 4 → 24
✓ 3 → 22	
✓ 3 → 26	
✓ 3 → 17	
✓ 17 → 20	
✓ 20 → 32	
✓ 4 → 22	
✓ 22 → 32	
✓ 4 → 16	
✓ 16 → 13	
✓ 13 → 32	
✓ 4 → 22	
✓ 22 → 24	

Direct + Indirect (3) Relations, Clothing, Spain, Dec 1

Direct	Indirect
✓ 4 → 13	✓ 4 → 16
✓ 13 → 16	✓ 4 → 30
✓ 16 → 30	✓ 13 → 30
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 4 → 24
✓ 22 → 24	✓ 4 → 24
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 4 → 29
✓ 22 → 24	✓ 4 → 31
✓ 4 → 17	✓ 4 → 33
✓ 17 → 29	✓ 4 → 24
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 4 → 24
✓ 22 → 31	✓ 4 → 25
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 4 → 29
✓ 22 → 33	✓ 17 → 29
✓ 4 → 12	✓ 5 → 17
✓ 4 → 27	✓ 5 → 20
✓ 4 → 22	✓ 6 → 13
✓ 22 → 24	✓ 6 → 32
✓ 4 → 26	✓ 22 → 32
✓ 4 → 23	
✓ 4 → 22	
✓ 22 → 24	
✓ 4 → 17	
✓ 17 → 25	
✓ 25 → 29	
✓ 5 → 18	
✓ 18 → 17	
✓ 5 → 16	
✓ 16 → 20	
✓ 6 → 22	
✓ 22 → 13	
✓ 13 → 32	
✓ 6 → 22	
✓ 6 → 22	

Direct (4) Relations, Clothing, Spain,

Direct

- ✓ 22 → 13
- ✓ 13 → 32
- ✓ 6 → 22
- ✓ 22 → 17
- ✓ 6 → 22
- ✓ 7 → 17
- ✓ 17 → 29
- ✓ 7 → 22
- ✓ 7 → 17
- ✓ 7 → 13
- ✓ 13 → 30
- ✓ 7 → 16
- ✓ 16 → 13
- ✓ 13 → 20
- ✓ 7 → 13
- ✓ 7 → 17
- ✓ 17 → 25
- ✓ 25 → 29
- ✓ 7 → 18
- ✓ 18 → 24
- ✓ 7 → 23
- ✓ 23 → 24
- ✓ 7 → 22
- ✓ 22 → 24
- ✓ ~~4~~ 8 → 17
- ✓ 17 → 25
- ✓ 8 → 19
- ✓ 19 → 32
- ✓ 8 → 22
- ✓ 8 → 19
- ✓ 19 → 17
- ✓ 8 → 18
- ✓ 18 → 17

Indirect

- ✓ 6 → 13
- ✓ 6 → 32
- ✓ 22 → 32
- ✓ 6 → 17
- ✓ 7 → 29
- ✓ 7 → 30
- ✓ ~~6~~ 7 → 13
- ✓ 7 → 20
- ✓ 16 → 20
- ✓ 7 → 25
- ✓ 7 → 29
- ✓ 7 → 29
- ✓ 7 → 24
- ✓ 8 → 25
- ✓ 8 → 32
- ✓ 8 → 17
- ✓ 8 → 17

Direct + Indirect Relations (5) Clothing, Spain, 20

<u>Direct</u>	<u>Indirect</u>
✓ 8 → 17	✓ 8 → 25
✓ 17 → 25	✓ 8 → 30
✓ 8 → 13	✓ 8 → 32
✓ 13 → 30	✓ 8 → 25
✓ 8 → 18	✓ 8 → 17
✓ 18 → 32	✓ 18 → 17
✓ 8 → 18	✓ 8 → 13
✓ 18 → 25	✓ 8 → 30
✓ 25 → 17	✓ 20 → 30
✓ 8 → 17	✓ 8 → 20
✓ 8 → 20	✓ 8 → 32
✓ 20 → 13	✓ 18 → 32
✓ 13 → 30	✓ 8 → 31
✓ 8 → 18	✓ 8 → 17
✓ 18 → 20	✓ 8 → 30
✓ 20 → 32	✓ 8 → 33
✓ 8 → 14	✓ 8 → 28
✓ 14 → 31	✓ 9 → 12
✓ 8 → 22	
✓ 22 → 17	
✓ 8 → 13	
✓ 13 → 30	
✓ 13 → 33	
✓ 8 → 18	
✓ 18 → 28	
✓ 8 → 18	
✓ 8 → 17	
✓ 8 → 17	
✓ 9 → 26	
✓ 26 → 12	
✓ 9 → 26	
✓ 10 → 27	
✓ 11 → 23	

Direct + Indirect
Relations

(6) Clothing, Spain, 2001

Direct

Indirect

APPENDIX 35

IMPLICATION MATRIX:

UK, SNACKS

TOTALS FOR PILOT + NOV. 2000. FIELDWORK IN RED

NOV. 2000 FIELDWORK + PILOT

Summary Implication Matrix: Snacks, UK

From ↓ To →	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	27	28	29
1. Shape + appearance	1.3 1.3	5.0 6.1	1.0 4.0							1.0	1.0		0.1 0.3		0.1	0.1		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2 0.5	0.1					
2. Range of flavours.	8.0 5.0	0.1		0.1									0.1 0.2		0.2		0.1			0.1	0.1						
3. Size of pack + quantity						1.0	1.0	2.0				1.0	1.0			0.1						0.1					
4. Type/strength flavour.		1.0		0.1	1.0		1.0	2.0		4.0				0.1	0.3												0.
5. Light/fattening					1.1	1.0	0.1			1.0					0.1									1.0		2.0	
6. Smell										2.0								0.1									
7. Nature of choc. bar	2.0	1.2 0.2		0.2	0.1		0.1			13.0 3.0	3.0	1.0	2.1	1.2	0.1 0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	2.0	0.3	1.1	
8. Sensation in mouth					1.4		1.1		3.0	8.1 4.1	1.0		1.1 1.0	0.1	0.1 0.1			0.3	0.3 0.2	0.1							
9. Pack design + format		5.0 2.0		2.0 1.0	1.0	0.1	1.1	3.1 3.0	0.1		5.1 2.1			0.1	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2 0.1	1.2 0.1			0.1			
10. Brand name	1.1 0.1						0.1	11.1 8.0			1.1 1.0	1.0	1.2		0.2		0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1							
11. TV advertising		1.0					0.1	1.1					2.0	1.0	0.1		0.2		0.1								
12. Price																											

Dir. rels. on left.
Indirect rels. on right

Cranfield
UNIVERSITY
School of Management

Snacks WK. cont.

②

Item	To →	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
13. Change, variety experiment			3.0		1.0	0.1		1.0						1.1		1.0	0.1	0.1		1.0	1.0	
14. Interesting, eye-catching	3.0				1.0			0.1	1.0		1.0		0.1			1.1	0.1			1.0	2.0	
15. Amusing			1.0										2.0							1.0		
16. Excitement													1.0	2.0	0.1		0.1			1.0		
17. Sustains fills you up							1.0	2.0							1.0		0.1	1.1		1.1		
18. Avoid getting fat.						1.0		0.1									1.0					
19. Fragility, xfm						1.0																
20. Resonance	1.0							2.0				1.0	2.0		3.0		1.1			0.1	2.0	
21. Long-lasting						2.0			1.0									0.1	1.0			
22. Pleasant phys. sensation				3.0	1.0								2.0	3.1	1.3		0.1		3.2	1.1	2.1	
23. Easy, convenient								1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0											2.0
24. Feel grown up																				0.1		3.0
25. Sociability																1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.2	
26. Relaxing															1.0					1.0		

Snacks WK. cont'd (3)

From ↓	To →	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
27. Well-being	30																									
28. Concern for others	31																									
29. Friendship belonging	32																									
30. Self-satisfaction	33																									
31. Frustration	34																									
32. Happiness	35																									
33. Social interaction	36																									
34. Health	37																									
27. Save time																										
28. Feel comfortable																										
29. Feel lively																										

2.0

1.0

1.0 1.0

1.0

1.0

1.0

1.0

1.0

1.0

1.0

APPENDIX 36

IMPLICATION MATRIX: SPAIN, SNACKS

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

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[illegible]

SMITHS, SPIN, WOL, CAN.

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[illegible]

SNACKS, SPAIN, 2001, CONT. (3)

[illegible]

APPENDIX 37

IMPLICATION MATRIX: UK, CLOTHING

FIELDWORK IN RED

[illegible]

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From ↓	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
14. Feel grown up.			2.0	1.0												2.0				0.1	1.0	0.1	0.1		1.0				
15. Reassurance trust.			2.0	1.0	1.0												0.1	1.0	1.2	0.1	0.1								
16. 'Stand out'	1.0		5.1 1.0		3.0											2.0		5.0 3.0	1.0	2.4 2.1	2.0	0.1	1.2	7.0					
17. 'Stand in'			2.1		1.0				1.0							6.1		6.0	1.0	4.1			1.0	1.0					
18. Physical attractiveness			2.1	5.4 4.1		1.0			1.0				0.1			1.0	1.2 0.2		3.2 2.2	1.0	1.0		1.1	2.1	5.3	0.2			
19. Right image			5.0	1.3 1.0	4.0 1.0												0.1			2.2 1.0			1.0	0.1	0.5	0.1			
20. Relaxed, carefree						1.0		3.0									0.2			0.1			0.1	3.0 2.0					
21. Sociability																	2.0												
22. Feel comfortable				2.2 2.0		0.1	4.1 2.0			1.0			1.0	1.0		1.0	0.1 0.1	3.0	1.2 1.1		0.2	0.1	1.2 1.0	0.2 0.1	0.1	1.1			
23. Personal hygiene																													
24. Cheerful																				1.0									
25. Good service																				1.0	0.1								
26. Long-lasting		1.0			1.0				1.0																	0.1			
27. Convenient				0.1	1.1				1.0						1.0								0.1		0.1				
28. Save money																													
<div> <div></div> <div>more CONSEQS: ADDITIONAL ONES IDENTIFIED, NOV. 2000.</div> </div>																													
29. Feel confident																								1.0					
30. Feel active, sporty.				1.0																	0.1						1.0	1.0	
31. Feel protected								1.0														1.0	0.1						
32. Express own taste	1.0			1.0	1.0				0.1							0.1				0.1		1.1		2.0					

495

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495

		From ↓ To →		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
29	Freedom, independence	(33)																						1.0								
30	Friendship, belonging.	(34)																								1.0						
31	Security	(35)																				1.0										
32	Satisfied, at ease with self.	(36)																					1.0	1.0								
33	Happiness	(37)														1.0																
34	Self-esteem (feel special)	(38)			1.0	2.0																	1.0	1.0				0.1				
35	Sense of identity + self.	(39)																														
36	Well-being	(40)																														
37	Enjoyment	(41)																														
38	Sense of achievement	(42)																														

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APPENDIX 38

IMPLICATION MATRIX: SPAIN, CLOTHING

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SUMMARY IMPLICATION MATRIX: CLOTHING SPAIN, 2001

10 →	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
30m																					
For ifferent roups	2.0		4.0		1.1													0.2			
. Well- own 'and', ell- diverted	1.0			1.0	1.0		1.0	1.1	0.1			1.0		2.0			0.3	0.1		0.1	
ashionable	1.0			1.0	1.0		1.1	0.2	0.1	1.0		1.0	0.4	1.0			0.2			1.4	
portswear	1.0			1.1	2.0					8.0	1.0	0.5	0.1	1.0	1.0		0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
esigner ubels				1.0	0.1	1.0		0.1													
ice fitting ed fit	0.2				0.1					5.0										0.2	
usual	2.1			1.0	3.0	1.0		0.1		2.0	1.0	0.1	0.1				0.2	0.1			
mart, legant, ecial	2.1	1.0			5.4	6.0	2.0	1.1		2.0		0.3				0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	
uality aterial	0.1																				
														2.0							

SUMMARY IMPLICATION MATRIX: CLOTHING, SPAIN, 2001

TO → FROM ↓	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1. Wide selection: sizes and/or styles																1.0						
1. good value for money												1.0										
2. save money																						
3. Express own taste					1.0				1.0										7.1		3.0	1.0
4. feel grown up																			1.0			
5. feel own age																						
6. stand out		2.0								2.1	0.1							0.1	1.0		0.1	
7. Fit in								1.0	2.0	1.0				8.0				3.4			0.3	

SUMMARY IMPLICATION MATRIX: CLOTHING, SPAIN, 2001

TO → FROM ↓	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
3. physical attractiveness						2.1			1.0				1.0	1.0			1.0				1.1	
1. light image						1.0															4.0	
0. feel proud, admired		1.0								1.0								0.1	0.1		3.0	
1. be popular																		2.0				
12. feel comfortable		2.0				2.0							6.0							1.0	1.2	1.0
3. useful													1.0									
4. feel good, cheerful																		1.0				
5. void being criticised, eased						1.0												3.0				

⑤

Summary Implication Matrix: Clothing, Spain, 2001

[illegible]